

# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

The solution of the  
problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the  
Economic Problem

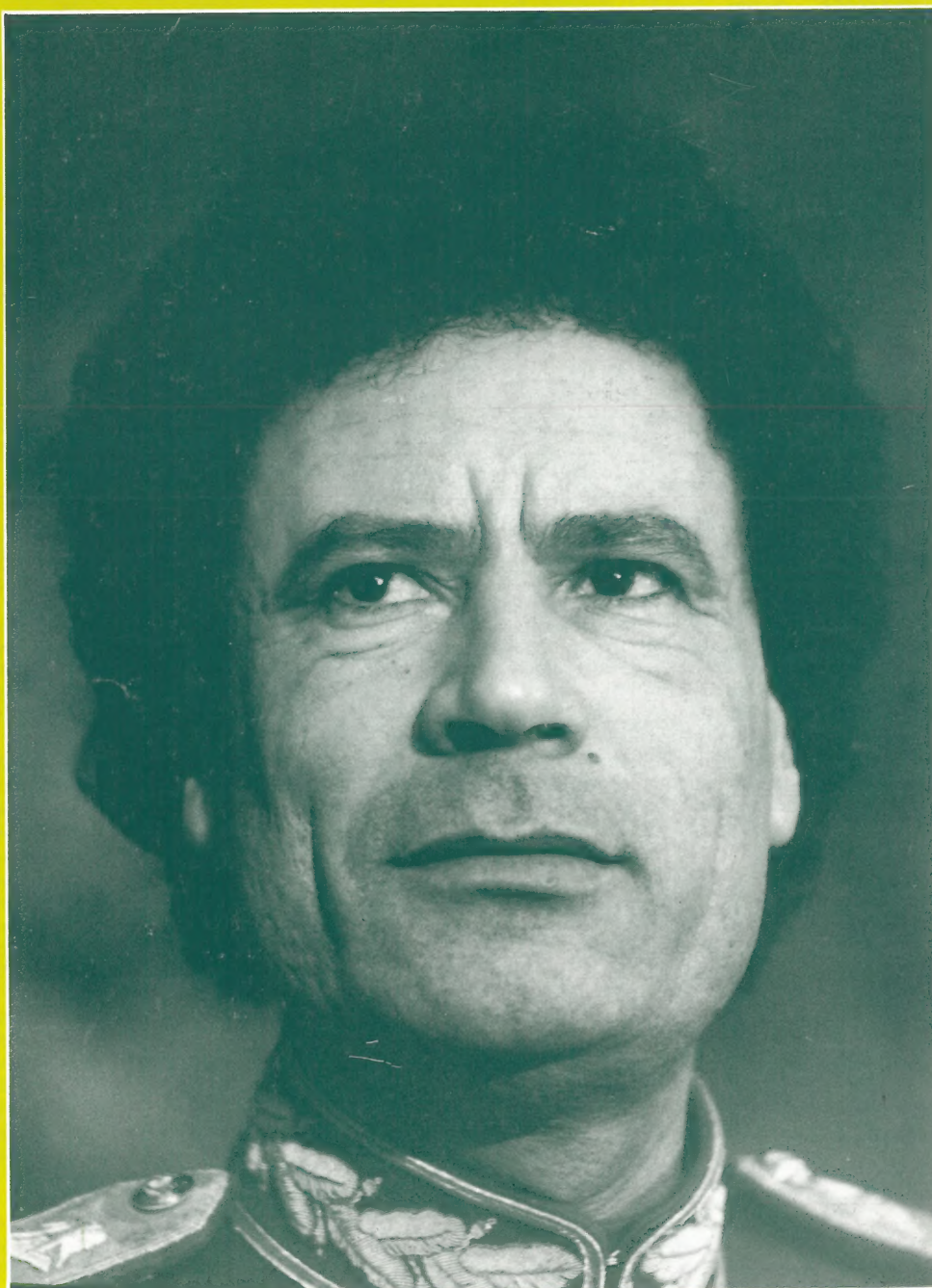
## PART 3

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problems confronting the  
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review of the theories  
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not merely theories but an  
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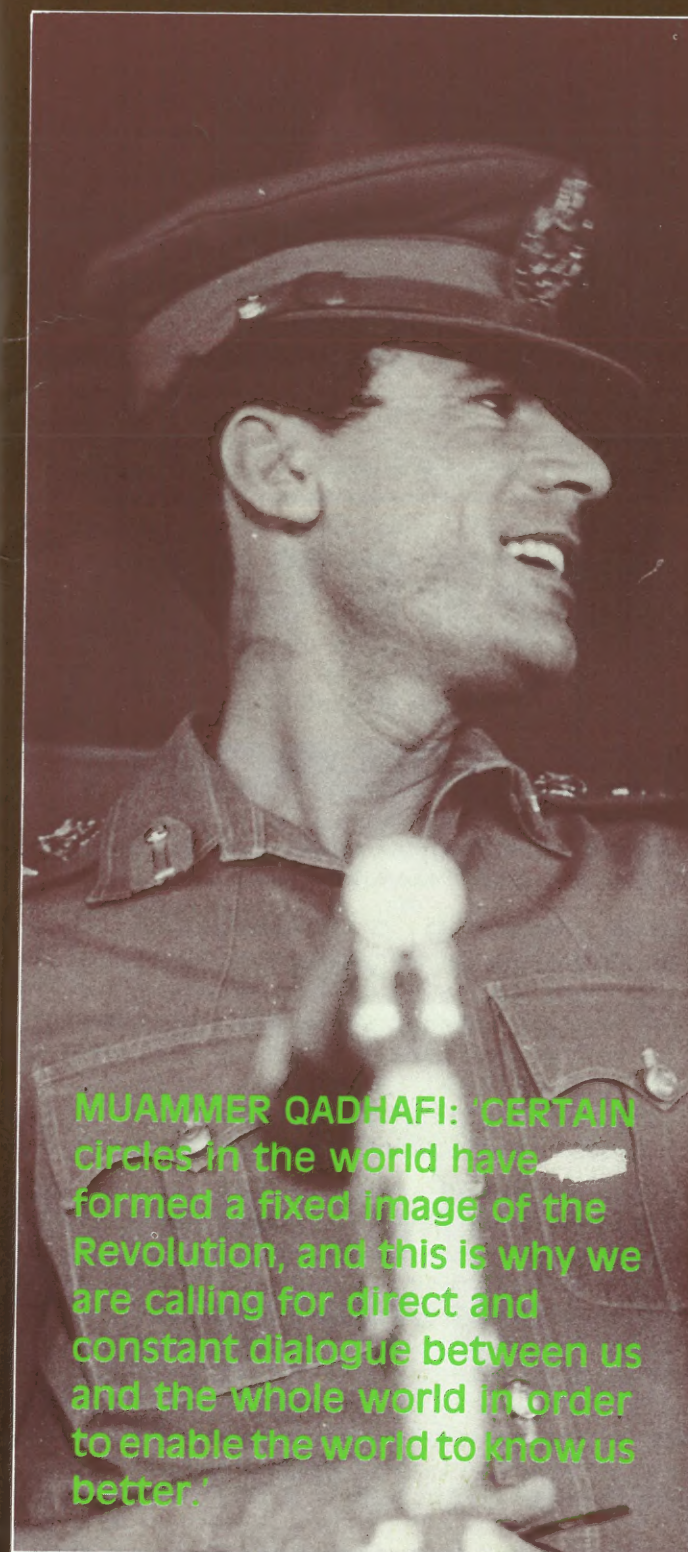
# jamahiriya review

April 1983

Price 50p

Editorial:  
Libyan funds  
in Britain

## Voices of Liberation

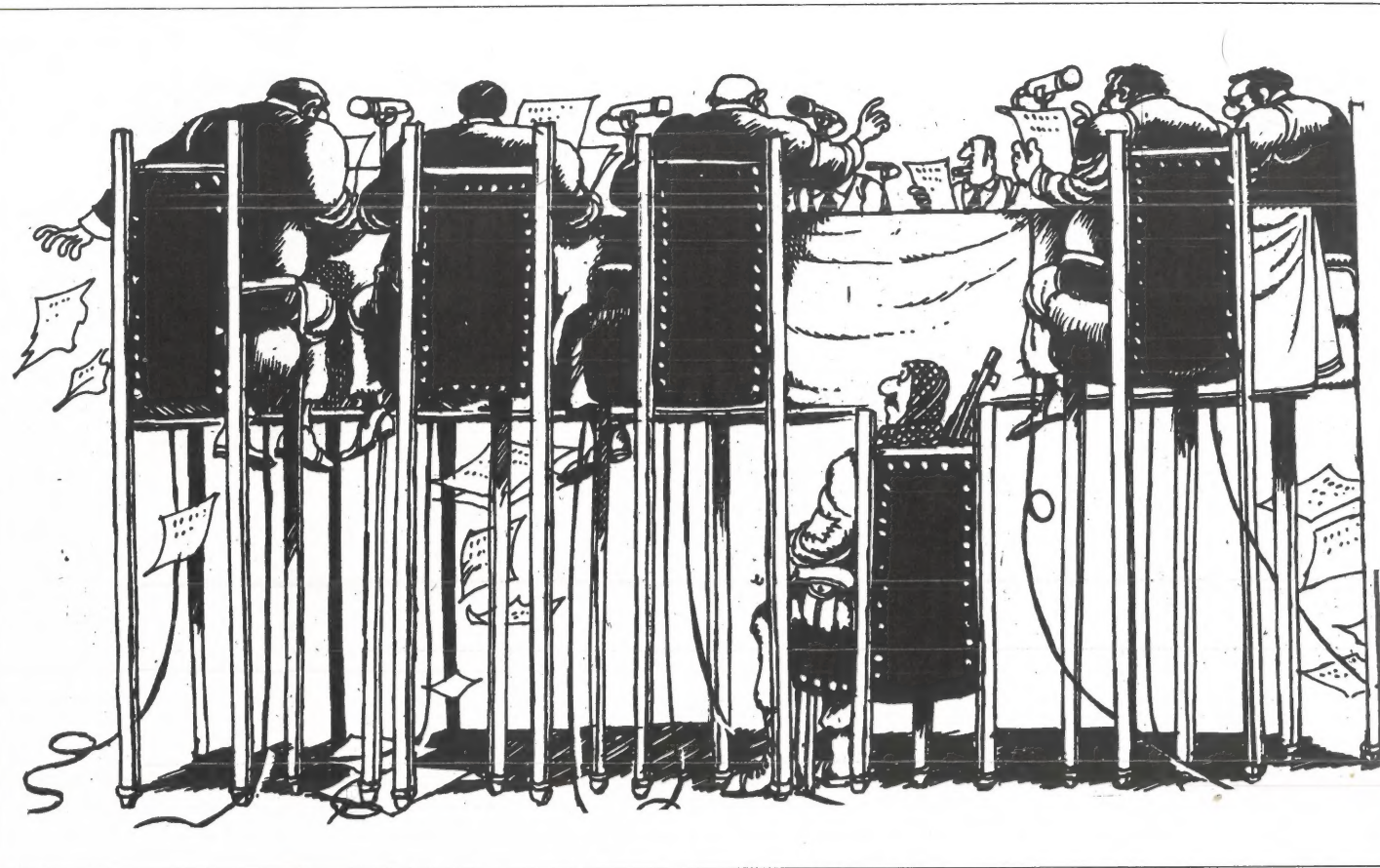


MUAMMAR QADHAFI: 'CERTAIN  
circles in the world have  
formed a fixed image of the  
Revolution, and this is why we  
are calling for direct and  
constant dialogue between us  
and the whole world in order  
to enable the world to know us  
better.'



MAURICE BISHOP: 'WHEN  
people in neighbouring islands  
hear about what is happening  
in Grenada, they ask questions  
of their own governments. The  
Americans are deadly  
concerned about that.'





# JAMAHIRIYA

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# jamahiriya review

April 1983

No 35

□ **QADHAFI OBSERVES WORLD LEADERS:** In a recent interview with *Africa Now* magazine, Muammer Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, spoke frankly about his views on political leaders with whom he has dealt since the 1969 Revolution, and his personal life. Extracts of this interview appear on page 11.

□ **INTERVIEW:** The Caribbean state of Grenada has been a key target for destabilisation by the United States. In an exclusive interview with Dr Alan George, the Grenadian Premier Maurice Bishop talks about the extent of US hostility, and outlines the priorities of his Revolution. Report appears on page 14.

□ **SIX POINTS:** At last month's Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi, the Libyan Jamahiriya put forward a programme of six tasks for the international movement. Robert Miller has been examining the Libyan proposals and the issues raised by the summit. His review appears on page 12.

□ **MOBILISATION:** Concluding his report from Tripoli, Louis Eaks surveys the decisions reached by the General People's Congress and reviews the measures planned by the Jamahiriya for mass mobilisation. In his report on page 10, he describes the proposals as 'the most serious and determined defence plan adopted by any Arab state since the Zionists first seized Arab territory in Palestine nearly four decades ago'.

□ **REAGAN'S AMBUSH:** A plan by the Reagan administration to invade Libya lay behind the allegations that the Jamahiriya had mobilised to invade the Sudan during February. The details are disclosed in a report on page 10, which also looks at a background briefing released by the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

□ **GREEN BOOK:** This month an international symposium on the Green Book is to be held in Benghazi to study the radical alternative to capitalism and communism proposed by Muammer Qadhafi. Ali Aziz reviews the Libyan leader's message and examines its application in the Jamahiriya.

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## Libyan funds in Britain

A RECENT edition of the *Money Programme* on BBC Television in Britain was devoted to a self-claimed expose which purported to show how Libyan funds are used to finance political groups and ethnic newspapers in the United Kingdom. Those who saw the programme will know claims which had been made in BBC press releases were never substantiated. Nevertheless, the BBC will have put the idea into the minds of the British people that Libya is involved in funding political groups in Britain.

Of course it is true that vast sums of Libyan money enter Britain every month. In some years it has exceeded £500 million. The money goes to pay for British goods and services bought by the Libyan Jamahiriya; the benefits are two-way — Libya receives the products and services it needs to implement its massive social, economic and industrial development programme, while British companies find export trade in difficult economic times, and employment is provided for British workers who might otherwise become unemployed.

Opportunities for British exports to Libya are enormous, and it might be assumed that this would be of great interest to British businessmen who watch the *Money Programme*. The details of the opportunities and trade arising from the Jamahiriya's development programme are rarely, almost never, mentioned in the British press. Indeed, some British companies turn their backs on the trade opportunities with Libya simply because of the image of the Jamahiriya presented in the British media. Ironically the loss is Britain's, and threatened are its workers.

Trade Union leaders and British politicians alike may be interested to learn something of the background of the malicious allegations made by the BBC. They are not new, and indeed it is a mystery why the BBC should be so short of ideas for programmes that it has to resort to false allegations which first

appeared in a British newspaper two years ago. The allegations reappeared, if this was not the original source for the 1981 newspaper reports, in a document published by a Zionist organisation last year.

Perhaps the BBC would like to answer allegations concerning its conduct? The charge has been made before, and the *Money Programme* forces the questions to be raised again, that the BBC is allowing its facilities to be used for an orchestrated propaganda campaign against Libya. The BBC's weekly news programme *Panorama* provides a vehicle for regular attacks on Libya, with reporters flying around the world at great expense (probably beyond the budget of *Panorama* for the production of a programme) in a desperate attempt to add substance to a report which has none. Where did the *Money Programme* get its idea for this latest attack on Libya, and since it was not in the programme, where is the evidence to support their wild allegations? It can be no coincidence that at the same time that the BBC was claiming that Libyan funds finance the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, parallel claims that Libya funds the Greens (the radical ecologist party in West Germany which recently gained seats in the country's Parliament) were being made in a German newspaper. Neither claim is true.

It is not expected that the *Money Programme* will enlighten its viewers to the activities of the Zionist organisations in Britain to subvert British relations with Arab states as part of their efforts to support a foreign power, namely Israel. The Zionists are allowed to work against Britain's political and economic interests free from the attentions of the press. Meanwhile, Libya, which seeks to develop and strengthen its political and economic ties with Britain is maligned with a steady stream of claims fabricated by the Zionists and the CIA. It makes a mockery of any claim that Britain has a free press.

## Peace Plans for Palestine

AMERICAN EFFORTS to impose the Reagan Plan on the Arab nation have been firmly rejected by the Jamahiriya, and have added fuel to Washington's determination to destabilise Libya. The same assessment of the conflict is reflected in Tripoli's refusal to be a party to the Arab summit plan adopted at Fez. Both plans assume that the Zionists have any intention in withdrawing from the Arab territories seized in 1967, and both give legitimacy to the Zionist occupation in 1948.

Those behind the plans are intent on deceiving the Arab nation by claiming that Arab rights in Palestine can be achieved through means other than force of arms. Yet, the Palestine tragedy is the consequence of Zionist military force, and the military option has always been paramount in Zionist strategy. Decade after decade Arab territory is seized by Zionist forces; and with the exception of Sinai, has remained under Zionist occupation.

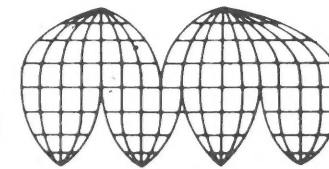
Israel is perfectly honest. It declares that the territories seized will remain part of the Zionist state. Meanwhile those who believe that a negotiated settlement is possible deceive only

themselves; they refuse to mobilise their military capabilities, whether for the defence of lands not yet occupied by Israeli forces or for the liberation of territory under occupation.

The moves now taking place in various Arab capitals, by regimes which are unaccountable to their citizens, to embrace the Egyptian government back into the Arab ranks pose a new threat to the Arab nation. The Camp David accords to which Egypt was a party have far-reaching consequences detrimental to Arab defences; the Lebanon invasion was made possible by Camp David which removed Egypt from the forces of the Arab nation, thereby allowing the Zionists to redeploy their troops for the Lebanon invasion, and to suppress the Palestinians on the West Bank.

Libya, and the Arab nation as a whole, seek the right to live in peace, but that right is challenged by the threat of the Zionists. To submit to the Zionist occupation, as Egypt did at Camp David, and as the Reagan and Fez plans propose, offers no peace for the Arab nation.

A monthly  
review of  
Libyan, Islamic  
and Third World  
affairs



PANORAMA  
news review



Mass demonstrations in support of the Al Fateh Revolution took place all over Libya on 14th March.

### Reagan planned invasion of Libya, says The Observer

A RECENTLY alleged Libyan plot against Sudan was in fact an American inspired attempt to turn Colonel Qadhafi into a military conflict', according to Patrick Seale, Arab Affairs commentator of the London Sunday newspaper *The Observer*.

The Americans fabricated reports of an imminent coup against the Numeiri regime in Khartoum in the hope that Libya would send military support for the Sudanese revolutionaries, but 'Qadhafi prudently ignored the bait offered him,' wrote Seale on 13th March.

If Libya had reacted as the Americans hoped, then US forces would have invaded the Jamahiriya and attempted to overthrow the authorities loyal to Muammer Qadhafi, says the report.

Seale added, 'The Sudanese were only too happy to go along with the American suggestion. They face the prospect of reduced US military assistance this year and may be using the Libyan bogeyman to persuade Congress to be more generous.'

□ A review of the American scheme against Libya appears elsewhere in this issue.

### US Embassy picketed

THE REAGAN administration's provocations against the Libyan Jamahiriya in February, in which the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Nimitz* was sent towards Libyan territorial waters while AWACS sky-planes were despatched to patrol the frontier with Egypt, were angrily protested by two pickets outside the US Embassy in London.

On 21st February, at the height of the US-inspired crisis, Libyan and other Third World students in Britain gathered outside the Embassy in Grosvenor Square to demand an end to the American threats and provocations. A second picket was staged on 28th February, by the Workers Revolutionary Party.

### Jamahiriya anniversary celebrations

THROUGHOUT LIBYA citizens have been attending rallies and taking part in marches to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the declaration of the Jamahiriya, the world's first comprehensive system of participatory democracy in which all Libyans have a direct say in their future through the debates and resolutions of a country-wide network of local congresses. The Jamahiriya

was proclaimed on 2nd March 1977, after delegates from popular congresses throughout Libya had convened in the southern town of Sebha to formulate the new democracy.

A highlight of the celebrations was an address by Muammer Qadhafi to a large rally in Benghazi, in which he reaffirmed the Al Fateh Revolution's long-standing commitment to Arab unity, and stressed that America's military threats and provocations against the Libyan people had merely strengthened their resolve to resist Washington's efforts to bring the region under its hegemony.

'The Arab nation must unite, and remove the frontiers between its parts,' declared Colonel Qadhafi, adding that unification of the Arab homeland was no different from the process of political unification in such countries as Italy and Germany in the last century. At the time, those who had struggled for unity in those countries had been derided as 'terrorists' by groups with a vested interest in the old system of city-states. In the same way, America and certain regimes in the Arab homeland attempted to denounce the Jamahiriya as 'terrorist' because of its unionist efforts.

Expressing impatience at the pace of Arab unity moves, the Libyan revolutionary leader called for implementation of the unionist agreements concluded over the past decade between Libya, on the one hand, and Syria, Algeria, Egypt,

Tunisia and Sudan, on the other. These, he emphasised, remained entirely valid.

The United States, he continued, bitterly opposed a unification of the Arab region that would transform the Arab nation into a major world power, able to compete on equal terms with Washington. But America overlooked the fact that the Libyan people were only one part of the wider Arab nation. 'When America fights Libya, it is fighting all the Arabs,' he declared. 'It is fighting the unity of the Arab nation, from the (Atlantic) Ocean to the Gulf.'

The Libyan people, he stressed, were not deterred by US threats. Noting that he was speaking only days after Washington had sent the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* towards Libyan waters, and AWACS spy-planes to Egypt to threaten the Jamahiriya's eastern frontier, Muammer Qadhafi declared: 'We shall continue to work for the demolition of the frontiers that separate the sons of one nation. We tell America that it is only making us more defiant, more firm and more stubborn.'

The anniversary of the declaration of the Jamahiriya was also celebrated by Libyan communities overseas. In Cyprus, the event was marked by a special ceremony attended by the Secretary of the People's Bureau in Nicosia, at which the new Omar Mukhtar mosque was officially opened. It is named after the legendary Libyan resistance fighter who waged a long



► and bitter guerrilla campaign against the Italian invasion of his country.

In Polish cities, the Jamahiriya anniversary was marked by a week of Libyan films, sponsored by the Polish-Libyan Friendship Society.

## American threats condemned at UN

FEBRUARY'S US military provocations against the Jamahiriya have been firmly condemned in the United Nations Security Council, in a debate that underlined the widespread concern felt by socialist and non-aligned nations at the belligerence of the Reagan administration.

The Jamahiriya brought its case to the UN last month, after US spy-planes and warships had been sent towards Libya's frontiers, on the pretext of guarding against an alleged 'Libyan threat' to Sudan and Egypt.

Dr Ali Abdesaleem Treiki, the Jamahiriya's Permanent Representative at the UN's New York headquarters, told the Security Council that Libya was 'a small country that desires to live in peace', and he went on to list a string of US provocations against the Jamahiriya and other countries, dating back to 1805, when American marines landed in the Libyan capital of Tripoli.

The Libyan position struck a chord with socialist and non-aligned UN member states. Soviet representative Oleg Troyanovsky, February's council president, said that Washington was unhappy that Libya was pursuing an independent foreign policy and refused to accept an 'unjust peace imposed on the region by the United States and Israel.' He added that the latest threat to peace came not from the sands of the Sahara, but from the 'cauldron of Washington'.

In similar vein, Ambassador Elleck Mashigaidze of Zimbabwe condemned the despatch of 'hideous and sophisticated militant equipment' to North Africa, saying that the crisis appeared to have been artificially contrived by the US in an effort 'to settle some undisclosed scores' with the Jamahiriya.

Ambassador David Karran of Guyana reaffirmed his country's commitment to the right of every nation 'to choose its own political, economic and social system, without outside threat or interference'.

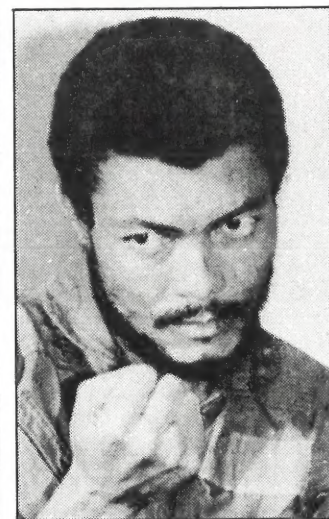
## Egyptians call for alliance

A CALL for continued efforts to strengthen the alliance between the Egyptian National Front and Libya came in a telegram to the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi

from the opposition ENF on 19th February. The Front expressed its support for the Jamahiriya against American threats which it termed as provocative and aggressive.

On the same day JANA reported the comments on the Libyan leader on American television in which he said that relations between Egypt and Libya had 'improved greatly after Sadat's death' and that there had been 'a relaxation in those relations, which had begun to develop gradually.' He added, 'The state of war had ended for good with the departure of Sadat.'

## Why is Libyan aid different from the west's?



GHANA'S LEADER, Flt-Lt Jerry Rawlings has praised Libya's economic support for his country. Interviewed by *Newsweek* magazine on 21st February, the Ghanaian leader was asked the following biased question: 'Has Ghana's reliance on aid from Libya jeopardised its independence?'

Rawlings countered: 'We are facing economic problems and we are grateful for the help offered by the Libyan people. Why should the West assume that we are tied to Libya and that we have lost our independence? Does the West make the same assumption when they give us aid? In fact, Libyan aid has helped us maintain our independence from other countries. People have created a whole mythology about Libya and Qadhafi.'

## New threat to OAU summit

MOROCCO HAS warned that it will boycott the proposed OAU summit in Ethiopia if the Polisario Front attend. This was confirmed by the Moroccan ambassador to Kenya on 21st February according

to reports from *Associated Press*. Morocco led a walkout against Polisario at the OAU's summit in Tripoli, the Libyan capital, last year. The Front, which had been accepted as a full member of the OAU, is waging a liberation war in the Western Sahara against Moroccan occupation forces, backed by American advisors.

At the Tripoli summit last year, Polisario agreed to absent itself in an effort to overcome Morocco's objections and allow the summit to proceed. However, the summit was then sabotaged over the question of which delegation should represent Chad.

The Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi later disclosed that he had asked Polisario not to attend, but Libya would in future support the Front's presence in OAU forums. On 14th March, Qadhafi received Mohamed Al-Amin, a member of the Command of Polisario, in Tripoli. Details of the talks were not released.

During February Libya, represented by Staff Major Abdusalaam Jalloud, attended a 12 nation mini-summit in Nairobi, at which it was agreed to call on the OAU states to attend a full summit in Addis Ababa in May or June.

## Amnesty International gets it wrong

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, the respected international organisation campaigning for the release of political prisoners, has admitted that it failed to discuss allegations against Libya with the Libyan Bureau in London, or any authority in the Jamahiriya, before releasing a recent statement concerning Libya to the press.

The Amnesty claim was that Libya plans to launch an assassination campaign against the small number of Libyans abroad who are working for foreign governments against the Jamahiriya. The claim was alleged to be based on the text of a resolution adopted by the General People's Congress in Tripoli in February, but Amnesty deliberately omitted the important first two paragraphs of the resolution to give weight to their claims.

Amnesty has also admitted that it failed to talk to any of their foreign journalists covering the General People's Congress to obtain their comments on the significance and meaning of the resolution, or the overall views expressed during the Congress on this subject.

Rather than approving such a campaign, the General People's Congress agreed that a special commission should be established to open contacts with Libyans living permanently overseas, and to urge them to return home by offering an amnesty to even

those who have criticised the Libyan authorities. Amnesty International made no reference to this important decision contained in the opening paragraphs of the resolution.

Amnesty International told *Jamahiriya Review* that it was concerned about what it termed 'extra-judicial killings'. When it was pointed out that US Congressmen were amongst those alarmed by plans by the CIA to assassinate the Libyan leader, Muammer Qadhafi, Amnesty International was asked if it had raised this matter with the US Government as threatened 'extra-judicial killing'. Amnesty replied it was not their concern.

The Libyan People's Bureau in London has responded to the allegations by distributing the full text of the GPC's resolution to the press.

## Libyan students threatened by Reagan administration

PRESIDENT REAGAN has been accused of being personally responsible for 'an extraordinary decision by which he has forbidden Libyan students studying in the USA from continuing their studies in aeronautics and nuclear sciences and everything related to them'. According to a report on the Tripoli Home Service radio on 15th March, 'The decision says that these students must change the fields of their studies to other sciences unconnected with this technology. If they refuse they will be expelled from the USA.'

The move is the latest by Washington to undermine the Jamahiriya's development programme by depriving Libya of the trained manpower that it needs to end its dependence on foreign technicians. Libya has been a vocal opponent of the nuclear arms race, although Washington continues in its attempts to claim that the Jamahiriya plans to develop nuclear weapons. This US allegation is firmly denied by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi.

Tripoli radio reported that US Secretary of State Shultz had said the Libyans studying in these subjects were 'a danger to the security of the USA'. It cited a spokesman for the US Passport and Immigration Department as saying, 'We do not want these students to be able to obtain technical information of any kind.'

The presence of thousands of Libyan students in the United States has often been seen as evidence of Libya's determination to balance its ties with the USSR by maintaining cultural links with the United States. The Reagan administration now seems insistent on closing this link between the new generation of Libyans and the American people.

## Fresh water transportation under study

THE POSSIBILITY of transporting fresh water in oil tankers to the Gulf States is to be discussed at an international seminar in London which will open on 31st May, according to a report by the Kuwait News Agency. The UN shipping agency, the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) is jointly sponsoring the two day conference with the Jamahiriya's National Academy for Scientific Research.

Proponents of the fresh water ballast idea note that it could help solve some of the water needs of the arid desert countries as well as providing work for the world's hard-hit tanker fleets. The scheme calls for carrying fresh water instead of traditional sea water on return voyages to the oil states, where it could be pumped ashore and used for either agricultural or industrial purposes.

Recent studies have shown that the idea is becoming financially and technically more viable, and would also have environmental benefits by reducing oil pollution.

## Garyounis Exhibition staged in London

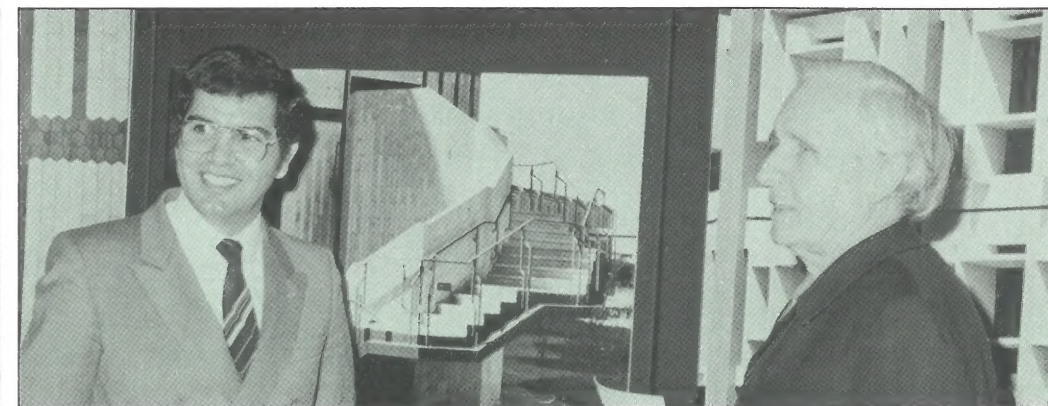
THE DESIGNS for Garyounis University (Benghazi) were included in an exhibition at the Royal Institute of British Architects Heinz Gallery in London during March. The designs are the work of the London firm James Cubitt and Partners, and had been shown previously at the exhibition of architecture in Islamic Mediterranean countries at the Venice Biennale 1982.

Phase 1 of the university project was completed and formally opened in April 1974, although subsequent phases are still under construction as the academic centre continues to expand.

Members of the Libyan People's Bureau in London attended a lunch hosted by Mr James Cubitt, and later toured the exhibition.

## Trade talks with Europe signal closer relations

WHEN the Reagan administration imposed its economic boycott on Libya last year, it was inevitable that the Jamahiriya would respond by tightening its already close trade ties with the industrialised countries of western Europe, to ensure that



BRITISH ARCHITECT James Cubitt (right) hosts a visit by the Secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau, Adem Kuwiri, to the exhibition of Cubitt's work for the University of Garyounis (Benghazi) which was held during March at the Heinz Gallery in London. In a statement to the press, Mr Cubitt criticised hostile coverage of Libyan affairs in the British press. He declared, 'British attitudes towards Libya are crude and intolerant. Much of what I read in the papers and see on television, concerning Libya, is biased and distorted, and falls far short of the truth.'

the US action did not interrupt its development programme. Talks between Libya and European economic officials in March show that the process is continuing.

On 6th March the Joint French-Libyan Commission began a meeting in Paris, aimed at strengthening trade and economic co-operation. M Michael Jobert, Minister of Foreign Trade, headed the French side, and the Jamahiriya's delegation was led by Mr Fawzi Shakshuki, the Secretary for Planning. The meeting opened with statements by both delegation leaders expressing their determination that the talks should have a fruitful outcome.

The Paris meeting was of more than economic significance. It marked the end of a period of strain between France and Libya, following Libyan suspicions that Paris had played a role in engineering the failure of last year's OAU summit in Tripoli. Many of the African countries that boycotted the summit are firmly within the French orbit.

The nadir in relations between Paris and Tripoli, however, came in 1980 when France joined Washington in falsely accusing the Jamahiriya of complicity in an uprising in the south Tunisian mining town of Gafsa. Angered at the allegation, a crowd of Libyan protesters sacked the French embassy and consulate.

Friction continued over behind-the-scenes French involvement in the Chad civil war during 1981, at a time when Libyan forces were in the country, at the invitation of President Goukouni Oueddei.

Last December, however, Muammer Qadhafi signalled a readiness to bury the hatchet, and in an address broadcast country-wide revealed that Libya had accepted French assurances that Paris had played no role in organising a boycott of the Tripoli OAU summit. He declared that relations had returned to normal.

The day after the Paris talks started, similar discussions were inaugurated in Stockholm by the Libyan Arab-Swedish Joint Committee. The two sides were headed

by Libyan Secretary of Heavy Industry Omar Muntasser, and the Swedish Commerce Minister Mats Hellstrom.

## Protest at harassment of civil airliner

LIBYAN ARAB Airlines has strongly protested at an incident in Italian airspace on 27th February in which an Italian F-104 fighter buzzed a Libyan passenger aircraft on a scheduled flight from Tripoli to London.

Italian air force personnel had described the incident as 'routing surveillance', and alleged that the Libyan plane had entered Italian airspace without gaining permission from Italian air traffic controllers.

LAA officials have vigorously denied this interpretation, pointing out that the air corridor in question was well defined, and had been used by the airline's daily flights for the previous ten years. LAA affirmed that the pilot had obtained prior permission to enter Italian airspace, and noted that the Italian air force version of events conflicted with the fact that the warplane had approached the LAA airliner only 45 minutes after it had entered Italian airspace.

The Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed on 7th March that the people's committee of LAA had sent a sharp protest to the Arab, African and International Air Transport Associations, calling on them to take firm measures to prevent any repetition.

## OPEC aid to continue at record levels

CONFOUNDING pessimists who forecast that adverse world oil market conditions would bring a reduction in Arab development

aid to the Third World, OPEC's Fund for International Development has approved spending plans for 1983 and 1984 that will maintain aid at last year's record levels.

The Vienna-based fund, set up in 1976, disbursed \$486 million in 1982, despite the oil incomes of many member states being hit by the world oil glut.

Announcing the fund's plans after the two-day annual meeting in Vienna of its ministerial council, Mr Ibrahim Shihata, Director General of the Fund, said on 16th February that the agency already had sufficient resources for the next two years, and only then would need replenishments from OPEC members to maintain aid levels.

The OPEC Fund's spending plans were approved at a meeting attended by ministers from Algeria, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria and Venezuela, and delegates from the Libyan Jamahiriya, Ecuador, Gabon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

On 15th February the Fund's Board of Governors approved a number of loans and grants, including \$62.2 million for nine projects in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Arab homeland.

## The UAR remembered

THE ANNIVERSARY of the 1958 union between Egypt and Syria was celebrated on 22nd February by rallies and marches in the Jamahiriya, in which the Libyan people made clear that their attachment to the cause of Arab unity had not been diminished by past disappointments.

The linking of Damascus and Cairo in the United Arab Republic (UAR), headed by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, gave hope to millions of Arabs who saw it as the first step ►





Staff Major Abdel Salam Jalloud who recently held talks with leaders in Damascus.

## High level talks with Syria

EVER SINCE Syria and Libya agreed their unionist project in 1980, the two peoples have been engaged in a process of consultation aimed at laying a firm foundation for the scheme. Unlike earlier Arab unity efforts, the

Tripoli-Damascus merger entails the two countries forging a common stance on internal and foreign affairs, rather than on the precipitate establishment of a single state. The explicit objective is a 'union of policies'.

The latest round of talks came on 28th February, when Staff Major Abdel Salam Jalloud arrived in Damascus for discussions with Syrian President Hafez al Assad,

and Mr Abdel Halim Khaddam, who is both Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

In a further affirmation of fraternal links between Syria and Libya, Muammer Qadhafi on 8th March conveyed a message of greeting to the Syrian people to mark the anniversary of the 1963 revolution that brought the Syrian Ba'ath (Renaissance) Party to power in Damascus.

► towards an eventual merger of the entire region, from Morocco in the west to Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf in the east. Unity was seen as the only way that the Arab nation's strength could be harnessed for the liberation of Palestine from the Zionist occupation, a disaster that had stemmed directly from chronic divisions between Arab regimes. The dissolution of the UAR in 1961 after a coup in Damascus staged by regionalist army officers was a bitter blow.

In a statement setting the tone of the UAR anniversary celebrations in the Jamahiriya, the leadership of the Al Fateh Revolution reaffirmed Libya's determination to work for Arab unity. In a key section, the statement stressed the Jamahiriya's 'readiness to start immediately unity procedures with any progressive Arab regime or faction, unconditionally, except that this unity be based on the political and social interests of the masses, and that all capabilities of this united Arab state should be channelled for the liberation of Palestine'.

The statement went on to affirm the Al Fateh Revolution's continuing adherence to the unity agreements concluded over the past decade with Egypt, Syria, Sudan and Algeria, and called on the Aden and San'a governments to

'proceed immediately with unifying the two parts of Yemen'.

Since 1980, the Jamahiriya has been engaged in unity talks with Syria, and the statement ended with a call for 'an urgent meeting by the two leaderships in Syria and Libya to implement immediately' the merger agreement.

## Growing Interest in the Green Book

RECENT WEEKS have seen clear signs of the growing interest amongst peoples of the Third World in the Third Universal Theory, set out by Muammer Qadhafi in his *Green Book*. The Theory forms the basis of the Al Fateh Revolution, and offers a radical alternative to both western capitalism and eastern Communism as the economic, social and political foundation of societies. Central to the Theory is the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy, in which the people shape their affairs through the debates of local congresses.

On 6th March the Iranian newspaper publishing house *Keyhan* organised a symposium on the Third International Theory, attended by writers and intel-

lectuals, and by the Secretary and other members of the Libyan People's Bureau in Tehran.

The same day, the Libyan Arab-Turkish Brotherhood Society sponsored a lecture in the Turkish capital Ankara on the participatory democracy practised in the Jamahiriya. The Society also staged a photographic exhibition depicting economic and social developments in Libya.

## Attempts to Isolate Libya foiled

THE FAILURE of Washington's frenetic attempts to isolate the Libyan Jamahiriya has been underlined by a series of visits to Tripoli by statesmen from eastern Europe, Africa and the Mediterranean, all of whom expressed their sympathy with the Jamahiriya at a time of heightened pressure from the United States.

On 22nd February Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkman held talks with the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary, Abdel Ati al Obeidi. Although Turkey is a member of NATO, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that the Turkish minister 'appeared to understand Libya's

position' regarding the need for the Mediterranean to be cleared of foreign fleets and bases.

Five days later, Mr Obeidi conferred with visiting Iranian Industry Minister Mustafa Hashim, who also discussed ways of bolstering economic co-operation with his Libyan counterpart, Heavy Industry Secretary Omar Muntasser.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has also hosted visits by high-ranking delegations from east European countries. On 6th March Mr al Bukhari Salim Houda, Secretary of Marine Transport and Communications, held a round of talks in Tripoli with Polish Minister of Administration, Local Government and Environmental Protection General Tadeusz Hupalowski. Libya last year concluded a friendship and co-operation treaty with Warsaw, following a visit to Poland by Muammer Qadhafi, and the meeting was one of a series of follow-up consultations.

The Libyan leader had arrived in Poland after a visit to Czechoslovakia, where a similar friendship treaty was signed, and on 8th March Czech Defence Minister Genral Martin Dzur arrived in Tripoli for talks with Brigadier Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber, Commander of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces. The Jamahiriya responded to last year's Zionist invasion of Lebanon by stressing the need for the Arabs to bolster their military ties with the friendly countries of eastern Europe.

The United States, which worked hard to sabotage last year's OAU summit in Tripoli, has also failed to isolate the Jamahiriya in Africa. On 22nd February Libya hosted a visit by Burundi's Foreign Minister Edouard Nzambiema. On 1st March Muammer Qadhafi attended a banquet in Benghazi in honour of visiting Upper Volta Prime Minister Thomas Sankara. At the same time, the Jamahiriya was hosting a visit by a delegation from Mali, headed by Mr Mandy Diallo, Minister of Livestock, Water and Forest Resources.

Four days later, the Benin President Ahmad Kerekou signalled his solidarity with the Al Fateh Revolution by paying a brief visit to Tripoli en route to New Delhi for the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit. One of the major issues discussed in New Delhi was the threat posed to the Indian Ocean region by America's military base on the Mauritian island of Diego Garcia. The island was leased to the US when Mauritius was still a British colony, but the Mauritian people are now mounting a major international campaign for its return. On 20th February Libyans had the opportunity to hear the Mauritian position when Premier Anerood Jugnauth paid a visit to Tripoli.

On 6th March, the Jamahiriya reviewed ties with Cuba, the out-

going Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, when Cuban Minister of Construction Levi Fara Balmaseda held talks in Tripoli with Housing Secretary Muhammad al Manqush.

## Reagan's trade war hits US firms

ONE OF Ronald Reagan's films was aptly titled 'Accidents Will Happen', and nowhere has the President's propensity for mistakes been clearer than in the impact of the economic war he declared on the Libyan Jamahiriya last year, following absurd allegations that Libyan 'hit squads' had been sent to assassinate him. Designed to cripple Libya and destabilise its revolutionary system, Reagan's measures have instead backfired on US companies trading with the Arab homeland.

On 15th February the *US Journal of Commerce* disclosed that US exports to the Jamahiriya have dropped almost \$500 million since March last year, and added that 'several shipping lines serving the US-Libyan trade said they have been greatly affected by the export controls, with one company's Libya-bound cargo dropping off approximately 80 per cent'.

The journal quoted one steamship company official as saying: 'We once took a large amount of cargo into Libyan ports, but it's nowhere near where it used to be.' He added that before Reagan's punitive measures, 'We received 150 containers on one booking. Compared to that, we now have next to nothing.'

The journal cited the official as saying: 'Libya discovered it can get most of the high technology products it needs from Germany, France, Italy and the UK. Consequently, the European-Libyan trade has picked up.'

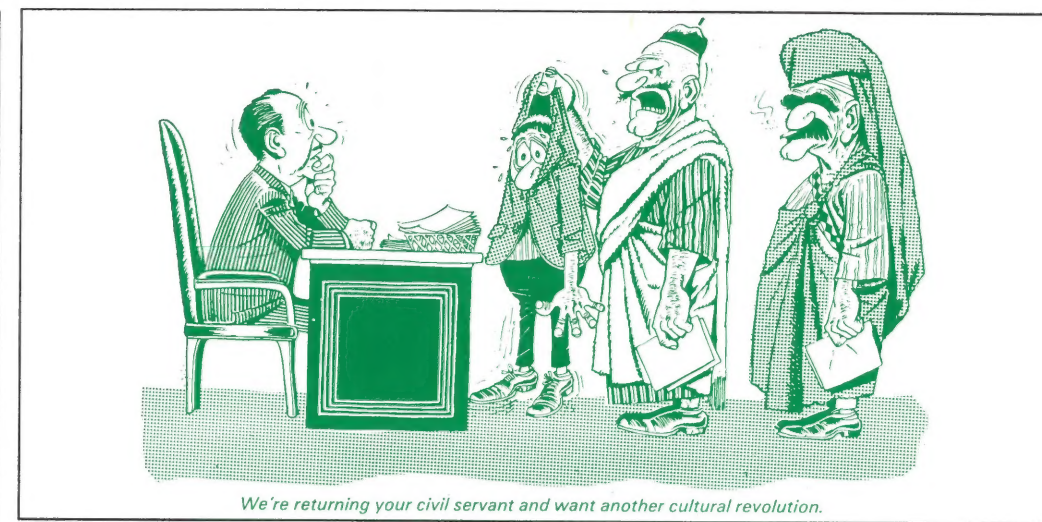
An official from another shipping line was quoted as saying that Reagan's measures 'not only have hurt the shipping lines, but also have hurt US manufacturing firms that once enjoyed a steady trade relationship with Libya'.

US exports to Libya in 1982 totalled a mere \$301 million, down from \$813 million the previous year. In 1980 US exports to the Jamahiriya stood at \$508 million.

## Racehorse hoax

IN A report that typifies the penchant of certain sections of the British press to whip up antagonism towards the Libyan Jamahiriya, the *Daily Star* on 2nd March 'revealed' that Shergar, the Irish racehorse stolen in February had 'been found in Libya'.

The paper offered no explanation of why the Jamahiriya, which



Cartoon by Mohamed Zwawe

## Call for release of Libyan cartoonist

A CALL for the release of Mohamed Zwawe, the Libyan Jamahiriya's best known political cartoonist, has come from the Union of Libyan Writers and Artists in Tripoli. Mr Zwawe has been detained in Tunisia since last June, when he arrived in Tunis for an exhibition of his works as part of a cultural exchange programme, and was arrested on charges of smuggling arms.

The charges are firmly rejected in the Jamahiriya, although nine months after the artist's arrest there is still no explanation for the basis of the charges, or firm evidence as to how he may have been framed.

On 6th March, a memorandum was handed in at the General

Tunisian Commission in the Libyan capital by the Union of writers and Artists. They appealed to Tunisian President, Habib Bourguiba and Premier Mohamed Mzali to release the artist, expressing the hope that such an act would assist in strengthening relations between the two countries.

Inside the Jamahiriya, Mohamed Zwawe has been a firm advocate of the Al Fateh Revolution. He says it represents his own personal opposition to injustice and oppression, but equally rejects that he is a mouthpiece for the Revolution. His cartoons have been published in the leading Libyan newspapers and journals for many years, and his satire of bureaucracy and incompetence is very much in tune with the views expressed by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi. Often his cartoons have appeared on wall posters in Libya, providing a powerful revolutionary medium.

## Educational co-ordination with Tunisia

A WIDE-ranging educational agreement signed in Tripoli on 2nd March was the latest example of the concrete steps being taken to implement last year's unionist agreement between the two countries.

The agreement came at the end of a visit to the Jamahiriya by Tunisian Education Minister Mohamed Faraj Chedli, and provides for co-operation in teacher training, the manufacture of teaching aids, the drawing-up of curricula, the exchange of teaching expertise and educational information, the twinning of educational institutions, the organisation of joint conferences, and the co-ordination of the two countries' positions at Arab and international conferences.

On the Libyan side, the agreement was initiated by Mr Abdel

Hafiz az Zulaytini, Secretary of the People's Committee at the Secretariat for Education.

Mr Jadallah Azourzi Talhi, Secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee, and Major Khweildi Hamidi, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Libyan Armed Forces, also conferred with the Tunisian minister, who disclosed that one purpose of his visit was to 'prepare for the forthcoming meeting of the joint supreme committee that will discuss means of bolstering co-operation between the two fraternal peoples'.

This committee was established following a visit by Muammer Qadhafi to Tunis early last year, and is charged with examining practical steps that might be taken to narrow the gap between the two countries' policies, with a view to an eventual merger of Tunisia and the Jamahiriya. Plans were announced last July for a joint meeting of the Libyan General People's Committee and the Tunisian cabinet, aimed at furthering the unification process.



THE CLAIMS that Libya was planning an invasion of the Sudan to support an attempted coup against the Khartoum regime were fabricated in Washington as a cover for an American scheme to invade the Jamahiriya, according to the Arab Affairs commentator of Britain's leading Sunday newspaper, Patrick Seale of *The Observer*.

Support for this claim has also come from the Washington correspondent of the *New Statesman*, Claudia Wright.

The Americans claimed that Libya had massed troops on the Sudanese border in preparation for an invasion to support a planned coup in Khartoum. There were also suggestions that Egypt was at risk from Libyan intervention. The charges came following disclosure that Washington had despatched AWACS planes to Egypt, and ordered the USS *Nimitz* towards Libyan waters in the Gulf of Sirte in mid-February. All the charges were vehemently rejected by the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi and in other official statements issued in the Jamahiriya.

Almost as quickly as the 'crisis' emerged, so it faded away, with American forces recalled to their bases, and Washington claiming that the Libyan threat was over.

But clearly the incident left many puzzling questions unanswered, not least because even in the West the American charges against Libya did not tally with intelligence reports from the area.

All the evidence supported the denials of American claims which came from the Jamahiriya. In a face-to-face confrontation in the Security Council, the Jamahiriya's envoy Dr Ali Treiki scored a fine victory over Washington's Jeane Kirkpatrick. As *Middle East International* (4th March) observed in a report from the UN: 'Libya's ambassador, Ali Treiki, earned high points for his conduct with the press, his diplomatic manoeuvring in the closed-door meetings of the Arab and African groups at the UN and in his Council speeches... of the 26 other states speaking in the debate, 24 of them criticised the danger of belligerent US actions against Libya. The other two, Sudan and Egypt, were almost dragged to the Council table by the ears, under intense US pressure to back up its position.'

The first challenge in the press to Reagan's claims came from the *New Statesman*'s Washington correspondent, Claudia Wright, on 25th February. She declared, 'In the long history of US policy in the Middle East, this February will go down as one of the most lamentable episodes of bureaucratic infighting within the administration... both the President and his National Security advisors have made clowns of themselves.'

She disclosed that Washington had a plan for which all the allegations against Libya had been a cover: 'The scheme included the possibility of US aid to an attempted coup inside Libya itself and an attack on the Libyan airforce. The problem for the Administration was that the cover story for the despatch of a US naval squadron and AWACS aircraft to Egypt

## How the Washington ambush was foiled

**AMERICAN FOREIGN policy has received a further humiliation which has raised new questions over the competence of the Reagan administration. Leaks that Reagan was mobilising US forces against Libya last February, left Washington in turmoil, and led to the hasty withdrawal of the AWACS and USS Nimitz which has been deployed on the Libyan borders. Louis Eaks examines the incident.**

was leaked before there was time to co-ordinate with the Egyptians and Sudanese, or to inform President Reagan himself.'

Ms Wright believed that not only were the Americans keen to confront the revolutionary authorities in the Jamahiriya, but also to warn Israel that the US could get tough. The Americans are frustrated that the Zionist occupation in Lebanon, and Israel's refusal to agree a timetable for early withdrawal, is undermining the credibility of Arab regimes close to the US administration and keen to make a settlement with the Zionists.

### 'Cycle of Conspiracy'

*A BACKGROUND report and analysis of the latest crisis between the United States and the Jamahiriya has been produced by the Libyan People's Bureau in London. The document firmly refutes the American claims that Libya was planning a military intervention in the Sudan, and argues that the February crisis was part of a long term scheme by the United States aimed at destabilising the country and isolating the Jamahiriya from international opinion.*

*'The real threat to peace and justice in the Arab homeland stems not from*

Clearly divisions exist within the US administration over America's stance towards Libya, and no doubt the Zionist sympathisers would like to see steadfast Libya smashed by a US invasion. In the *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune* (11th March), Eric Margolis, described as a specialist in Middle East military affairs, ridiculed the Reagan administration's paranoia over Libya's policies.

He argued that opponents of the Reagan plan amongst the Zionists are keen to promote a US conflict with Libya. 'It is not impossible that foes of such a settlement, in the Reagan administration and in the Middle East have promoted a crisis with Libya in order to maintain the status quo,' he said. 'Washington's refusal to respond to recent Qadhafi attempts to improve relations may give some credence to this supposition.'

Whatever the side issues, Patrick Seale in *The Observer* on 13th March was firm in his conviction that the 'recently alleged Libyan plot against the Sudan was in fact an American inspired attempt to trap Colonel Qadhafi into a military conflict'. Seale has his own sources in the world of intelligence, and often appears to present the private, as opposed to public, views of Britain's Foreign Office, although he claimed 'Arab sources' for his information.

He admits that a plan to overthrow the Numeiri regime was being planned by Sudanese opposition forces, but they were independent of Libya, although it is believed they supported Libya's politics. According to Seale, the Americans intercepted a message from the Khartoum plotters to Qadhafi 'probing his reactions in the event of their attempting a coup'. The Americans then used 'the embryo conspiracy to set a trap for Qadhafi, letting him believe his supporters in Sudan were more numerous and powerful than they were and so luring out his air force to their aid in order to destroy it'.

However, Seale comment, 'Qadhafi prudently ignored the bait offered him'. The whole incident turned into another of Reagan's foreign affairs shambles, while in Washington there are 'inter-departmental wrangles about the wisdom of ambushing Qadhafi'.

*Libya's policies, but from the ongoing attempts by the United States to impose its influence and control over the Arab peoples,' says the report. It accuses Washington of creating a 'cycle of conspiracy' aimed at Libya and involving Egypt, Sudan and Chad. Washington hoped to open the way for direct military intervention in Libya, the report declares.*

*Copies of the report can be obtained by writing to the Information Department, Libyan People's Bureau, 5 St James's Square, London SW1, England.*

**□ OF THE four American Presidents who have held office during the revolution here, to whom have you found it easiest to relate?**

● Generally speaking, I think Carter was better, except for the Camp David Accords which were signed during his administration. I think that he was so kind, so nice, so simple-minded that he was dragged into the Camp David Accords. We had hoped that a superpower like America would not give its consent to the use of force, because that is what the Camp David accords were — the outcome of the use of force. This has become a precedent in history. The Camp David accords were an insult to the Arab nations. This was the dangerous thing during the Carter regime.

**□ Gamal Abdel Nasser was your hero. What qualities did you see in him that so moved you. What do you think Nasser bequeathed to history?**

● Nasser was the hero of the Arab nation. He was the pioneer of Arab union and Arab nationalism. He was very faithful and sincere towards Africa. He was a powerful opponent of colonialism all over the world, and he was loved by the ordinary people, the simple people. He expressed what was within us, our feelings and aspirations.

Nasser tried to define the shape of Arab nationalism and the Arab nation. He left certain principles and set certain objectives, which have not yet been realised. Materially speaking, the high dam at Aswan is one of the greatest achievements realised for the people of Egypt.

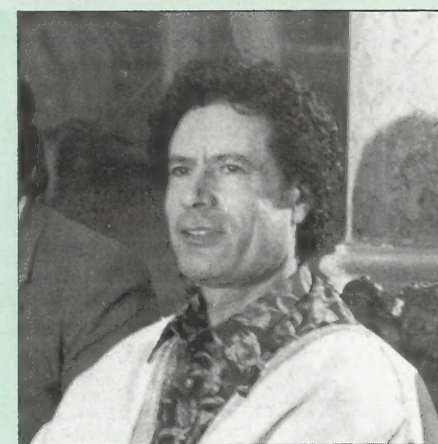
**□ The late Kwame Nkrumah was to Africa what Nasser represented amongst Arabs. What do you remember of Nkrumah?**

● Nkrumah was one of the leaders of liberation in the Third World. In the 60s, Africa, Asia and Latin America emerged as a non-aligned force. The emergence of such leaders as Nkrumah, Nasser, Nehru and Lumumba was not in the interests of the forces hostile to the progress of the peoples, hence the 60s witnessed the assassination of national revolutions and their leaderships. Nkrumah was one such leader.

**□ You were all young men. I wonder if you now think you were naive in your aspirations.**

● We took certain stances which we do not now think were worthy. But we were honest in our position. We believed in our position. We believed that what we did at the time was right. Now we think that some of what we did was wrong.

By this I mean that we did not deliberately do what we knew to be wrong. There are examples: for instance, we have discovered that it was wrong for us to have supported Idi Amin against Milton Obote, because Milton Obote is a progressive and socialist person. We were wrong also to have attacked Julius Nyerere. Nyerere belongs to the generation of President Nasser. He was one of Nasser's colleagues, and we should have respected him for that. Bokassa was another mistake.



## Qadhafi observes world leaders

**IN THE west, the persistent disinformation efforts of large sections of the media have ensured that Libya and its revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi remain enigmatic. In an interview with Peter Enahoro of *Africa Now* magazine in February, Colonel Qadhafi pulled aside the propaganda shroud, explaining why Libya had revised some of its earlier positions, and offering an insight into the influences that have shaped his thinking. The Libyan leader also stressed the impact of other world statesmen who have occupied centre-stage in international affairs during the period of the Al Fateh Revolution.**

But at the time the picture did not appear to us as it appears now.

It appeared that the Uganda which Idi Amin took over had been full of Israelis during the time of Obote and Idi Amin had thrown out the Israelis. But he pretended that he was a Muslim, and that he was trying to save Muslims about to be liquidated in Uganda. It is a fact that they actually faced liquidation and they still face liquidation. However, under the circumstances, Idi Amin should never have been supported against Obote. In the last analysis, he was a fascist,

he had no plan to lead Uganda to recovery, to make it a progressive country. He is simply a show-off. As Obote is a socialist and progressive personality, he should have been our ally and we should have been his ally. We blame him for having been involved with Israelis, and we still have certain reservations about the history of Uganda, particularly about the coercion of the Muslims which went as far as physical liquidation.

Regrettably, due to such mistakes a certain picture has formed which has become difficult to replace. Certain circles in the world have formed a fixed image of the revolution, and this is why often these days we are calling for a direct and constant dialogue between us and the whole world in order to enable the world to know us better. But even though our position has changed, it is very difficult to change the picture.

**□ You have often been quoted as demanding nuclear disarmament, and yet you were reported at one time to have sent the Prime Minister of your country to China to try to purchase an atomic bomb. Was this true and, if so, is it not a contradiction?** ● This is one of the ingredients of the old image. If it is true that we did so, we would now laugh at it, because it was not right. But if it is not true then the story forms part of the image we have been talking about.

**□ How were you brought up? Was it a strict upbringing?**

● It was difficult in terms of the circumstances and the environment under which I lived. Bedouin life is mobile; the strictness of upbringing therefore comes from the severity of these circumstances. But socially I was free. We were bedouins enjoying full freedom and we lived amongst nature and everything was absolutely pure, in its true self, in front of us. We lived on the land and there was nothing between us and the sky.

Bedouin life made me discover the natural laws, natural relationships, life in its true nature and what real suffering was like before life knew oppression, coercion and exploitation. This has enabled me to write the *Green Book* (see page 15).

**□ In what direction would you like your children to go? Into public life or into the professions?**

● They are very small children. I often try to put into their little minds that they all should become doctors and to give themselves entirely to the free medical treatment of Africans. To go to the jungles of Africa, to vaccinate the children for free, to examine the sick and to deliver medicine. I think on a personal level this is the best thing one can do for humanity and for the Africans in particular.

But they (his children) might not respond to what I try to teach them. And the blame is to be put on colonialism. Because they hear America threatening the Gulf of Sirte, they often say they want to become air force pilots so that they can shoot at the American Sixth Fleet.





Cuban president, Fidel Castro (left), welcomed at New Delhi by India's President Zail Singh and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

## Tripoli's six-point plan

THE SEVENTH Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement ended in the Indian capital New Delhi on 12th March with a warning on the growing danger to world peace posed by the increasing bellicosity of the United States, and a demand for a major transfer of resources and influence from the rich industrialised countries to the developing nations of the Third World. The 101 Heads of State and Government, representing more than two-thirds of the world's population, also reaffirmed the Movement's long-standing support for the liberation struggles in southern Africa and Palestine, and pledged themselves to work for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The Non-Aligned Movement links those countries that are determined to avoid the hegemony of any of the world's superpowers. The Movement was formed in Belgrade in 1961, around the core of Egypt, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and India.

The New Delhi summit voiced alarm over the United States' escalating efforts to extend its global sphere of influence. Disquiet was expressed in particular over developments in the Indian Ocean region, where the superpowers have stepped up their search for new military bases.

One of the largest such bases in under construction by Washington on the Mauritian island of Diego Garcia, which was leased to the US by Britain when Mauritius was still under London's colonial rule. The Mauritian people have since demanded the return of Diego Garcia, and their claim was given strong backing in New Delhi.

The Non-Aligned countries reaffirmed their traditionally strong support for the Palestinian struggle against Zionist expansionism, and condemned the Zionist state for its savage and genocidal invasion of Lebanon last year.

The summit pledged to intensify efforts against racial discrimination in southern Africa, and in particular agreed to step up material, financial, military and political assistance to the South West African People's Movement (SWAPO), which is fighting a guerrilla war for the independence of South African-occupied Namibia.

A major part of the Final Communique dealt with the urgent need for reform of the international economic system, whose

**LAST MONTH'S Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi agreed a set of proposals that underlined the alarm felt by Third World nations at the Reagan administration's adventurism, and their deep concern at the inequities of the current world economic system. As Robert Miller reports, however, the Libyan Jamahiriya would have welcomed firmer and more practical measures aimed at strengthening the independence of non-aligned countries and bolstering their ailing economies.**

inequities are severely hitting the developing countries. The new Chairman of the Movement, Indian Premier Indira Gandhi, was requested to lead a delegation of member countries to visit selected capitals in the industrialised states to explore the scope for action. The non-aligned countries meanwhile pledged their determination to strengthen economic links between them as a means of lessening their dependence on the industrialised nations.

It was clear from the summit address of the Libyan envoy, however, that Tripoli would have welcomed agreement on firmer measures on certain issues. Speaking on 7th March, Major Abdesalam Jalloud warned that the Movement was drifting away from its original objectives. It had 'witnessed a serious retreat that has threatened its existence, and it has consequently lost the respect of its peoples'. He added: 'We feel that our movement has lost the vitality and dynamism that are an essential condition for its continuation.'

Major Jalloud charged that the Move-

ment had been 'infiltrated by aligned states' and traced the problem back to an obsession with expanding membership, regardless of the commitment of newcomers to the principles of non-alignment. A related problem was that some states that had once been genuinely non-aligned had since changed their orientation.

Egypt after the death of President Nasser was a case in point, said Major Jalloud, declaring: 'Nasser's Egypt, one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement, has since the signing of the capitulationist Camp David accords violated the principles of non-alignment.' It had become 'America's gendarme in the Arab and African regions', and had lost its independence 'irrespective of whether or not there are US bases in Egypt'. The Jamahiriya, he declared, demanded Egypt's expulsion from the Movement, or at least its suspension pending Cairo's abrogation of Camp David.

To guard the Movement's future, Major Jalloud urged 'the laying down of criteria for membership, and a strict definition of the term "non-alignment"'.

After a wide-ranging review of US military posturings in central America, southern Africa and the Arab region in general and the Libyan Jamahiriya in particular, Major Jalloud proposed that the Movement 'should lay down a charter for collective security, so that it can defend its members and defend peace'.

As part of the overall strategy to counter the expansionism, Major Jalloud urged an end to US domination of the global economy and international financial institutions, and the establishment of a 'just economic order more responsive to the expectations of the peoples of our movement'. In addition, he called for the abolition of the veto rights enjoyed by the US and other Big Powers in the UN Security Council as a step towards making the world body more democratic.

Major Jalloud concluded by listing six key tasks that the Non-Aligned Movement should tackle if it wished to flourish. First, there must be an end to 'aggression and the threat of aggression to which the peoples of our movement are subjected at the hands of the United States'. Second, he cited the urgent need for the liberation of Palestine, South Africa, Namibia and the Western Sahara. Thirdly, the Libyan envoy called for effective measures to counter the acute international economic crisis, which was 'destroying the economies of Third World countries'.

As a positive contribution to world peace, Major Jalloud urged the abolition of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. He restated the Jamahiriya's determination that the UN should be reformed by abolishing the veto right and boosting the authority of the General Assembly.

Finally, the Libyan envoy called for an emergency programme aimed at relieving poverty and hunger in developing countries, demanding the launch of 'an international campaign under the slogan: food and clothing for all'.



The emphasis of the GPC's programme is comprehensive mobilisation.

## Defence needs call for mobilisation

HOWEVER MUCH Libya may be subjected to ridicule in the western media, the mobilisation programme adopted by the Jamahiriya's General People's Congress at the end of its one week session in February is the most serious and determined defence plan adopted by any Arab state since the Zionists first seized Arab territory in Palestine nearly four decades ago. The tragedy is that other Arab states are not willing to adopt similar measures, and to join in a common defence plan to liberate Arab territories under Zionist occupation.

The emphasis is on 'comprehensive mobilisation', which will involve every community in the country, and the support given to the programme by the Basic People's Congresses through the General People's Congress has been strengthened by the direct threats to Libya coming from the United States. The Jamahiriya's firm stand on Palestinian rights and its persistent opposition to American military bases in the region, has made Libya a prime target for the Americans. The Libyans have now made clear their determination to resist any foreign invasion of their territory, and agreed a programme of measures which are intended to put their defence on a firm footing.

Full details of the plan were released by the Jamahiriya News Agency (JANA) on 21st February. They cover four basic points:

- Providing maximum amounts of weaponry, deploying oil revenues to purchase 'large quantities of arms'. Libya plans to diversify the sources of its arms supplies, and to adopt a programme for arms manufacture to produce military equipment locally. A series of measures will also be implemented to increase the standard of combat and training ability of all Libyans, and plans to include enrolment in military colleges for all teachers under 30 years of age, and transforming teacher training institutes and university colleges into military academies. Male youths will be

**A BOLD plan to place Libya on a war footing to challenge the continued threat to the region by the Zionist-American alliance was approved by the General People's Congress in Tripoli. Louis Eaks provides the details in this report from the Libyan capital.**

encouraged to enrol in military colleges, but the scheme will be voluntary for young women. It will be compulsory for all Libyans, both men and women, to undertake weapons training. The Jamahiri Guards, urban militia, compulsory servicemen, and trainees at production sites will be co-ordinated within 'an integrated plan'.

- Boosting food production and minimising consumption, with factories and production sites operating 24 hours a day. The plan expects the country to become self-sufficient for basic foodstuffs, and will aim to broaden existing light industry 'making it largely dependent on national resources'. There will be a boost in agricultural development and a 'programmed reverse migration from urban to rural areas'.

'Most or all new projects in the transformation (development) plan' will be implemented. Working hours will be increased to 12 a day, and efforts will be made to reduce dependence on foreign labour, 'especially those with less skilled experience'. Moreover, Libya hopes to divert some of the workforce in administrative jobs, such as the civil service, into production (industry) sector.

- Concentration on education and scientific research, which it is recognised is the key to securing control over the country's economy and the development of new

industries in Libya if the Jamahiriya is to achieve self-sufficiency.

- Considering production to be first and foremost in support of a war economy, with the ultimate intention of diversifying the country's economy away from its narrow base dependent on oil revenues, and boosting the country's economy through new industries, which will reduce the cost of foreign imports.

- Considering production to be first and foremost in support of a war economy, with the ultimate intention of diversifying the country's economy away from its narrow base dependent on oil revenues, and boosting the country's economy through new industries which will reduce the cost of foreign imports.

The Congress also called for action to break down the 'psychological barriers' which deter Arab resistance to the Zionists, who are accused of seeking to create 'an Israeli empire in the Arab world'. Action is needed, said Congress 'to restore confidence to the Arab individual'. Resistance to the Zionists inside occupied territories would include 'suicidal operations' if necessary.

### Development priorities

With the Jamahiriya facing a decrease in its revenues from oil sales, Congress agreed to limit any additional financial burdens, whether in the form of new contracts or extensions to existing contracts, except for certain strategic projects, and to 'give priority to projects under completion'. The development budget for 1983 was approved at 2,370 million Libyan dinars. The administrative budget for this year was set at 1,550 million dinars.

Specialised banks were urged to 'carry out an efficient role in financing productive and housing projects according to the funds available from national finance companies, and the social security funds, so as to achieve the targets of the (transformation) plan'.





Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

## The Caribbean revolution that Reagan fears

**On US pressure:** It has been pretty nasty, all-round aggression and destabilisation against us. In August 1981 they held military manoeuvres in Puerto Rico, codenamed Amber and the Amberines. It was a clear reference to us; our country's full name is Grenada and the Grenadines. The word Amber actually appears on the map of Grenada, right next to the new international airport site. At the time, when we launched a world-wide solidarity campaign over the issue, the Americans made no attempt to deny that Grenada was the intended target.

On the diplomatic front, they are in the habit of contacting our friends, seeking to persuade them to break ties with us, or to suspend state visits. They have even resorted to the petty expedient of collating lists of people working in Grenada on the international programmes — technicians who are being funded by the OAS and the UNDP, for example.

They offered money to the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) on condition that Grenada was excluded from the bank's activities. The CDB's own charter forbids discrimination on political grounds, and the bank refused to comply with the US demand. The ploy did not work, but Washington has since refused to put any further money into the bank.

**On the basis for America's hostility:** It is because our revolution is the first in the English-speaking Caribbean. Secondly, they are very concerned that this experiment that we are building here becomes successful, and therefore holds out attractions for the region.

When people in neighbouring islands hear about what is happening in Grenada, in terms of social services and economic growth, and particularly in terms of the organs of popular power that we are building up; when they hear about these things, they ask questions of their own governments. I think that the Americans are deeply concerned about that.

**THE CARIBBEAN island state of Grenada has been a key target for destabilisation by the United States, which fears that the government of Maurice Bishop is setting an example that other nations in the region might follow. In this exclusive interview, Prime Minister Bishop outlined to Dr Alan George the extent of US hostility, and reviewed the progress that has nevertheless been achieved.**

**On the economy:** It performed quite well last year. We were able to record a 5.5 per cent overall growth in real terms. That is probably the highest rate in the entire western hemisphere. We held inflation down to 7 per cent. Wages rose by 12.5 per cent in current prices. We inherited an unemployment rate of about 50 per cent. Last year it was down to 14 per cent. We had an overall increase in production in the state sector of 34 per cent.

In addition, the social wage has continued to rise. For example, last year about 15,000 Grenadians benefitted from the housing for construction materials, and they repay at a rate of \$EC 5 per month over six years.

**On problems in the economy:** We would have liked to see more progress in the fisheries sector and we had an overall loss in the state sector of agriculture. The Grenada Farms Corporation had to be subsidised to the extent of just under \$EC one million.

We have just changed one priority. Unemployment is no longer number one.

The key task now is to generate greater revenue from non-tax sources: in other words, getting the various state enterprises — and there are over forty of them — to make profits. Unemployment is now number two.

**On human rights:** In any revolution, you are going to find reactionaries who are going to try and destabilise, oppose and overthrow. A revolution by definition involves a dislocation, and nobody who is honest will ever expect that a revolution can succeed if the rights of the minority that continues to oppose, and tries to use violence, are not ruthlessly crushed, in the interests of helping the majority.

Quite a few detainees have been released recently, and there are now less than forty detained without charges. Charges are being processed, and they will come to trial. Many of them from the days of Gairy (the corrupt Grenadian ruler overthrown by Bishop in 1979) will face charges of brutality and/or corruption. Others will be tried for counter-revolutionary plots.

One cannot disregard political and civil rights — and we certainly do not — but there has to be tremendously more attention given to social, economic and cultural rights than has historically been given.

The American concern over human rights in Grenada is a red herring and pure propaganda. They don't worry about Haiti, or South Africa or Israel. It is pure hypocrisy.

**On relations with Libya:** Our relations are very warm, excellent. One aspect — but not the only one — has been development assistance. We have received a number of grants and soft loans, and these have been extremely important, given the problems of finding money to finance our public investment programme. The assistance has been wide-ranging, sometimes tied to specific projects, and sometimes for general use. It is that kind of relationship.

**On Muammer Qadhafi visiting Grenada:** When we were visiting Tripoli, we invited him to come. It is a traditional invitation made during state visits. But his response was not traditional. He was, I think, genuinely interested in coming; but, equally, I don't expect that he would come here except in the context of a wider trip to the region as a whole.

**On Libyan development:** On our official visits to the Jamahiriya we were very impressed. Libya has made tremendous strides in agriculture, housing, construction, in health and education, in bringing tremendous benefits to the vast majority of the people — people who previously had never had the right to any of these things which they are now receiving free of cost.

**On direct democracy in Libya and Grenada:** There are many similarities. At bottom, both systems reflect the same kind of reasoning: an attempt to get the people more directly involved on a regular basis in the running of their own affairs.

## The Green Book: 'A Guide for Tomorrow'

**THIS month an international symposium on the Green Book is to be held in Benghazi to study the radical alternative to both capitalism and communism proposed by Muammer Qadhafi. Ali Aziz reviews the Libyan leader's message and its application as it is found in the modern Libyan Jamahiriya.**

WHEN MUAMMER Qadhafi and his fellow Free Unionist Officers ousted the western-backed monarchy of Idris Sanousi on 1st September 1969, they had no desire to replace one tyranny with another. The Revolution was not just another *coup d'état*. The objective was to secure a fundamental change in the political, economic and social fabric of society. While the aims of the Revolution have been clear and consistent, however, the policies adopted to attain them have evolved. As experience was gained, the leadership of the Al Fateh Revolution drew a coherent set of conclusions regarding the basic problems facing Libyans, and how these might be resolved.

In 1977 and 1978, the accumulated lessons of almost ten years of revolutionary rule were set out in Muammer Qadhafi's *Green Book*. And although it was derived from Libyan experience, its message is consciously directed at a much wider audience.

Part One of the *Green Book*, entitled 'The Solution to the Problem of Democracy', examines the limitations of traditional forms of parliamentary democracy, and proposes a radical alternative, the *jamahiri* system, which allows the direct participation of the people in determining their future through attendance at a country-wide network of local community congresses.

Part Two of the *Green Book* sets out Muammer Qadhafi's thinking on economic questions, and offers a fundamental alternative to both western capitalism and eastern communism. In Part Three, the Libyan leader spells out his views on the organisation of society, stressing the primacy of the family, and urging the need for women to emancipate themselves from economic and social constraints that prevent them from playing a fuller role outside the home.

In the west, antagonists of the Al Fateh Revolution have sought to ridicule and denigrate the *Green Book*. As Herve Bleuchot said in his analysis of the *Green Book* in *Libya Since Independence*, published last year by Croom Helm, 'Colonel Qadhafi's views are little known by the outside world and, when discussed, are usually distorted and rarely given serious and disinterested consideration.'

Serious observers, however, do not dismiss lightly a book that guides the destiny of more than two million Libyans and that is attracting increasing attention throughout the world as an alternative to both capitalism and communism, and hence a solution to the irreconcilable global conflict between these two systems.

It was the dangers attaching to that conflict that prompted Muammer Qadhafi to set out his thinking in the *Green Book*. Interviewed by *Africa Now* magazine in February, he explained: 'It was not like

writing an ordinary book. It was simply an attempt to explain the dialectic which exists between Marxism and capitalism. The world has reached a political and economic impasse, and humanity simply cannot accept this impasse and accept to die. There must be a way out. That way out is this new theory.'

Referring to the exploitative economic relations within and between societies throughout the world, Muammer Qadhafi concluded: 'These are dangerous problems. If you don't halt them, there will be an explosion, which could be a blind explosion. But by solving these issues theoretically, the explosion will be a revolution, and hence in the *Green Book* I was opening up a new horizon, new prospects.'

Part One of the *Green Book* centres on the key dilemma of traditional parliamentary systems: that even governments that are voted into power by a majority of the electorate tend to pursue policies that advance the interests of their own supporters, rather than the people as a whole. Muammer Qadhafi argues that this dilemma stems both from the very existence of political parties, which exacerbate tensions and divisions in society, and from the lack of accountability of politicians. When people elect a parliamentary representative, they abrogate responsibility for their destiny. The delegate, having secured election, meanwhile, ceases to be accessible or accountable to the voters.

The *Green Book* argues that the solution lies in the abolition of political parties and the establishment, as an alternative to traditional democracies, of a system of local people's congresses where all citizens can have a direct say in their future, without at any stage delegating their authority to professional politicians.

Addressing a seminar on the *Green Book* in Madrid in December 1980, Muammer Qadhafi explained that by applying such a system of direct democracy, 'the machin-

ations of rulers, governments, leaders and parties will be ended. The party game, which deals with elections and political programmes, has no significance for the people.'

### Practical solutions

The *Green Book* is not merely an abstract theoretical tract. It offers practical solutions that are being applied in the Libyan Jamahiriya. In the early years after the ouster of the monarchy, the revolutionary authorities modelled their policies on those applied in Nasser's Egypt. A single political organisation, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was set up as a means by which the people could participate in decision-making, and by which the leadership could maintain its links with ordinary Libyans. It was modelled, even down to its name, on the Egyptian ASU. It soon became clear, however, that the ASU, far from facilitating participation by the people, in fact acted as a barrier. Increasingly, ASU officials arrogated decision-making to themselves, and the organisation came to resemble a traditional political party.

In response, Muammer Qadhafi launched an appeal to the people over the heads of the ASU. In April 1973, in his famous speech at Zuwara, to the west of Tripoli, he urged Libyans to take power into their own hands by forming themselves into committees to administer their universities and places of work. The speech ignited the Cultural Revolution, as Libyans acted on Muammer Qadhafi's suggestion, and in subsequent years the system of committees was gradually extended. The process culminated in March 1977, when the Jamahiriya — the 'state of the masses' — was proclaimed in the southern city of Sebha, following a specially convened congress.

In the years following the Zuwara speech, Libya retained its traditional governing structures — a cabinet and ministries, prime minister and president. With the Sebha declaration, however, the *jamahiri* system was extended to embrace the highest levels of traditional government. Ministries were replaced by People's Committees of new style Secretariats (Basic and Municipal), accountable to a General People's Congress (GPC) which in turn was set up as a forum at which members of local (Basic and Municipal) congresses could co-ordinate the decisions of the scores of grassroots congresses throughout the country.

The essential characteristic of the whole system is that at no stage do the people delegate decision-making powers. The local congress members attending the GPC, for example are explicitly charged only with conveying the decisions of their grassroots congresses. It is summed up in the slogan: 'Representation is fraud'. ▶





Direct participation by the people: the radical alternative to parliamentary democracy.

#### ► Alternative economy

Part Two of the *Green Book* appeared at the beginning of 1978, and offered a systematic exposition of the economic thinking that had distinguished the Al Fateh Revolution from its earliest days. As far back as 16th September 1969, Muammer Qadhafi had declared: 'Socialism means participation in production. It is the achievement of self-sufficiency in production without exploitation, theft, illegality or the violation of religious prohibitions, and without usury or bribery.' It is such enlightened and egalitarian principles as these that reappear in *The Solution of the Economic Problem*.

The core of Part Two of the *Green Book* is the advocacy of an economic system that offers a radical alternative to capitalism and communism. Capitalism is rejected because of the inequities of a system in which wealth accrues to the owners of the means of production, rather than to the producers. At the same time, the *Green Book* rejects the tendency of capitalist entrepreneurs to sink money into schemes that might be profitable, but that meet no long-term need of society as a whole. It is the rampant consumerism of western countries, their 'throw-away' ethic, that is scorned.

Communism is rejected not so much because of the original concepts advanced by Marx, but because of the way that these have been applied in most countries proclaiming themselves communist. It is the primacy of the state, at the expense of the individual, that the *Green Book* rejects. In theory, workers in communist societies

shape their own future and receive the benefits of their labours; but in practice it is a distant and authoritarian state to which the benefits accrue, and an equally remote party leadership that decides economic priorities and policies.

#### Family unit

Much of the discussion in Part Three of the *Green Book*, entitled 'The Solution of the Social Problem', centres on the role of the family as a basic natural unit of society. Again, this volume offers an alternative to both western and eastern societies. In the former, it is argued that the family is collapsing in the face of the individualistic economic ethic that stresses the pursuit of personal material wealth. In the east, the state is dominant, and the family must shape its affairs accordingly.

Muammer Qadhafi argues that the distortion of the natural role of women is a key factor in the breakdown of family life, in both east and west. Women, he argues, are the pillars of family life, and should never be separated from their children. Yet in the west, the pressures of rampant consumerism force women to go out to work to top up family incomes. In the east, women must work in response to pressures from a monolithic state machine that puts a high premium on the expansion of gross domestic product.

This does not mean that Qadhafi is a traditionalist, in the sense of advocating the confinement of women in the home. On the contrary, he has repeatedly and publicly urged women to play a more active role in Libya's political and economic life.

But the *Green Book* argues that the first place of women is in the home, caring for their families, and that while women should contribute in public life, they should do so only in a manner consistent with their physical attributes and that does not conflict with their natural roles as mothers.

The *Green Book* was not conceived in a vacuum. It is firmly rooted in the principles that governed the lives of the bedouin tribesmen who until recently formed about 90 per cent of the Libyan population. Muammer Qadhafi was himself born into a bedouin family at the coastal town of Sirte. This interpretation of the *Green Book* as a reaffirmation of bedouin ideals has been stressed by Herve Bleuchot: 'The main idea behind the book is a return to the natural life and to natural forms of socialism.'

Some observers question the relevance for today's world of concepts derived from a bedouin tribal society. The short answer is to look at Libya, where the *Green Book* is being applied in the construction of a modern industrial country. However, Muammer Qadhafi himself insists that the book offers only a set of broad guide-lines, and that it is for the people to elaborate these principles into practical measures.

The Libyan leader is moreover well aware that the *Green Book* will not find immediate acceptance amongst the world's nations. In an interview with *Thames Television* on 10th December last, he said: 'I consider it as a guide for the masses in their journey from exploitation to emancipation. I do not think that this generation is going to adopt it. It is a guide for tomorrow.'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has consistently sought to bolster trade and financial links between the countries of the Third World in an effort to enhance their economic prospects and to loosen the grip of the industrialised countries of the North on the poorer South. One of the key institutions in this effort has been the Arab-Latin American Bank (Arlabank), in which Libya is the largest share holder, and which has gained an impressive reputation both for the scale of its financial resources and for the scope of its activities. It has been a major investment in recycling Arab oil revenues into productive projects in the capital-starved countries of South America.

Arlabank was set up in 1977 with a capital of \$100 million. Forty per cent came from seventeen banks and other financial institutions in ten Latin American countries — Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Haiti, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Brazil. The largest Latin American shareholders are Argentina's Banco Nacional de Desarrollo and Banco do Brasil, each with 6.6 per cent.

Twenty per cent was contributed by Arab and European banks, and the remaining forty per cent was shared between the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank (LAFB), Kuwaiti foreign investment concerns and other Arab financial institutions. Of this, 28 per cent was put up by LAFB and the Kuwait Foreign Trading, Contracting and Investment Company. The bank started operations from its headquarters in the Peruvian capital Lima on 2nd October 1978.

The original shareholders were joined in July 1981 by the Bahrain-based Arab Banking Corporation (ABC) and the National Bank of Bahrain, a move that coincided with a doubling of Arlabank's authorised capital to \$200 million, of which 62.5 per cent has been paid up.

#### Majority

The Libyan Jamahiriya's majority shareholding in Arlabank derives both from its holdings in LAFB and in other Arlabank shareholders, including ABC, UBAF, Banco Arabe-Espanol (Aresbank), Banque Intercontinentale Arabe and the Arab International Bank. It is through Arlabank that the Jamahiriya has its only direct link with Latin American banks.

The financial power of Arlabank's major shareholders is evident from ABC. Set up in June 1980 with an authorised capital of \$1 billion, and a paid-up capital of \$750 million, as a joint venture between the Jamahiriya, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, ABC in 1981 ranked amongst the ten largest lead managers of international loans, in terms of the size of the funds managed. The lead manager is the bank that co-ordinates a loan advanced by a consortium of banks.

A special report in the London monthly *South* in February revealed that Arlabank's current and non-current assets now stand at \$2.2 billion. In 1982 operating profits topped \$20 million, an impressive leap from the \$6 million in 1979 and \$9 million in 1980. Arlabank's balance sheet up to 31st June last showed a net profit of over \$12 million.



Steel workers in north Brazil, a leading recipient of Arlabank funds.

## A bridge to Latin America

**THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's determination to better economic relations between the developing nations of the Third World found practical expression in 1977 with the establishment of the Arab Latin American Bank, in Libya is the major shareholder. This special report reviews the bank's activities and progress.**

#### Hard-nosed

Arlabank was set up to channel Arab oil revenues to poorer countries, but it is not an aid agency in the sense of, say, the OPEC Fund. Its dealings are guided by hard-nosed commercial considerations. Much of its business has involved relatively safe and profitable Euromarket syndications, although there have been important bilateral loans, with a significant proportion going to the larger Latin American countries of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico (see table). Arlabank's adherence to commercial considerations has also meant that projects in industrialised countries outside Latin America have sometimes received larger loans than ventures inside the continent.

The hard-headed commercial instincts of Arlabank are perhaps most plain in its reluctance to lend to the smaller, less credit-worthy countries of Latin America, even when these have shareholdings, albeit small, in the bank. Costa Rica and Haiti, for example, have hardly figured in Arlabank's dealings.

Governments and publicly-owned enterprises have been major beneficiaries of Arlabank loans in Latin America. Last summer, for example, it was announced that negotiations had been completed for a \$300 million loan to the Peruvian government. The loan was for three and one half years, and carried an interest rate of 5/8 per cent above the London interbank offered rate (Libor).

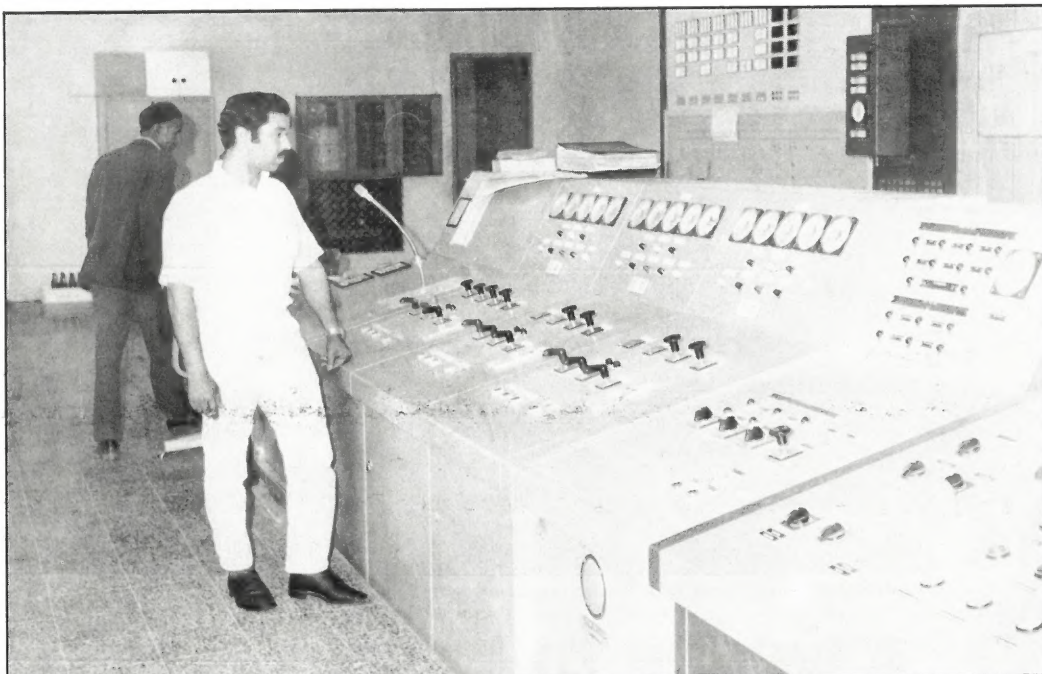
In the past year, Arlabank has extended the range of its services with the establishment in Bahrain of an investment banking division to advise Arab investors on prospects in Latin America. The new division will consider schemes in agriculture, tourism, energy and mining. The bank's current plans call for a stepped up involvement in merchant banking activities, including trade credit — the financing of exports to Latin America, though not only from the Arab homeland.

The bank's expanding business is reflected in its growing international network. In 1981, a regional office was opened in the Argentine capital of Buenos Aires, to join similar offices in Rio de Janeiro and Bogota. An offshore banking unit has been set up in Bahrain. A London outlet has been opened, and the bank is about to open up in the Venezuelan capital Caracas. In addition, it is considering applying to set up offices in New York, Mexico City and Santiago de Chile.

#### Arlabank term loans 1982

Country	Value (\$billion)
Brazil	115.6
Argentina	106.2
Chile	91.6
Mexico	85.6
Venezuela	33.2
Colombia	29.9
Peru	22.9
Ecuador	12.2
Uruguay	4.0
Costa Rica	2.0
El Salvador	0.6





The 81-85 development plan calls for generating capacity to be almost doubled.

## Power plans advance

SIXTEEN COMPANIES have been selected to bid for a \$675 million extension to the Benghazi North power and desalination plant, entailing the installation of three 125 MW steam turbines and four 25,000 cubic metres per day desalination units, and the construction of new buildings, reservoirs and pumping stations. Consultant is Belgium's Electrobelt Engineering International, and the contract is expected to be awarded in August.

Progress has also been announced in other power projects in the Jamahiriya. The Swedish firm Asea has started shipping equipment related to a \$70 million subcontract awarded in 1981 by Libya's Electrical Construction Company for the installation of five 220 kV substations in the southern desert region of Fezzan. Completion is due by 1985.

The Jamahiriya News Agency JANA disclosed on 23rd January that fourteen vapour condensers, each weighing 86 tonnes, had been transported from the Marsa Brega oil port to Zuweitina, the site of one of the largest new power and desalination plants under construction in the Jamahiriya.

Libya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan allocated \$6.6 billion to the electricity and water sector, and calls for an increase in the country's generating capacity from 4,800 MW in 1980 to 9,400 MW in 1985.

## Trinidad to train steel workers?

AUSTRIA'S VOEST-Alpine, which is working on a number of contracts for the steel works under

construction at Misrata, has sought training facilities for Libyan steel workers in Trinidad.

The Iron and Steel Company of Trinidad and Tobago (ISCOTT) has confirmed a proposal by Voest-Alpine that a shut-down direct reduced iron plant at Point Lisas on Trinidad's west coast be re-opened for training the Libyans. The plant, one of two DRI plants built in Trinidad by Korf Industries of the United States, has been closed for the past year because of slack demand. ISCOTT says that the plant is likely to re-open in April, but that the currently operational DRI plant will then shut down for 'maintenance work'.

One of Voest Alpine's Libyan contracts, won in 1981 and valued at \$7.8 million, is for the supply of a vocational training centre to be linked to the Misrata steel works. The award also provided for the training of 46 Libyans.

## Europe raises oil industry stake

WHEN the Reagan administration stepped up its economic war on the Libyan Jamahiriya in March last year, banning US imports of Libyan oil and prohibiting the sale to Libya of oil industry technology, it was widely predicted that European oil firms would be major beneficiaries. The accuracy of the forecast was highlighted in February with the award of an offshore oil contract to Italy, and the announcement of an oil strike in the Jamahiriya by Deminex, a small West German firm.

An engineering and design contract for an offshore oil production platform was awarded to Snamprogetti, a subsidiary of the Italian public

energy agency Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI). The order, of undisclosed value, was placed by Agip (North Africa and the Middle East - NAME), a joint Libyan-ENI company that operates a large offshore field about 120 kilometres north of Tripoli.

Snamprogetti's work will be supervised by Britain's John Brown Offshore, which has a four-year project management contract valued at more than \$30 million. The platform is for installation in 1985, and Agip is reportedly close to awarding the construction contract.

Deminex announced its first oil strike in its contract area in the Sirte basin, part of a total of 62,000 square kilometres over which the firm has exploration rights under a production-sharing agreement signed in 1980 with the Jamahiriya's National Oil Corporation.

## Reagan hits at Boeing workers

IN A move that underlines the continuing determination of the Reagan administration to sabotage Libya's development programme, and which will have serious implications for the Boeing Corporation and its workforce, the US Commerce Department has blocked the sale to Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA) of twelve commercial airliners worth \$600 million.

LAA had placed orders for one Boeing 747, five 767s and six 737s. The Seattle-based firm applied for export licences in November.

The firm needed the sale badly. Last year it laid off nearly 9,000 workers, and its earnings for the first nine months of 1982 fell to \$201 million, 41 per cent down on the same period of 1981.

Reagan's veto is likely to benefit the European aircraft industry. 'We know what the hell is going to happen in Libya,' declared an exasperated Boeing official last December. 'They like our equipment, but after a while they're going to buy from Airbus', the European consortium based in Toulouse.

## Joint shipping line starts sailings

THE JOINT Libyan Arab-Turkish Marine Transport Company started sailings on 1st February, when its 4,000 dead weight tonnes cargo vessel *Sirte* left the south Turkish port of Mersin with a cargo of beans and barley, bound for the Jamahiriya.

Owned fifty-fifty by the Turkish government and the Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Company (LAFIC), the company was formed last year, and is headquartered in Istanbul.

## Market access for Nicaraguan coffee

RESTRICTIVE TRADE and tariff barriers erected by industrialised western countries pose a key obstacle to the economic advance of Third World peoples. Expanded economic links between the poorer countries, however, have long been recognised as a means of side-stepping the problem, while at the same time loosening the overall global economic stranglehold of the rich nations.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has been at the forefront of moves to bolster intra-Third World trade, and in February the Nicaraguan Foreign Trade Minister Alejandro Martinez disclosed that his country was negotiating a five-year contract to supply the Jamahiriya with \$7-10 million worth of coffee per year.

In 1981 Libya agreed to lend the central American country \$100 million, to help cover a balance of payments deficit.

## Third ring road for Benghazi

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's ambitious development programme has entailed major increases in the volumes of goods being transported on the country's roads, while sharp rises in personal incomes have greatly extended car ownership. In response, Libya has been engaged in a major road construction programme that in the 1981-85 period

alone aims at the provision of 4,100 kilometres of new roads.

The construction of ring roads to counter traffic congestion in the cities is an important part of the programme, and South Korea's Daewoo Corporation has just been awarded a \$100 million-plus contract to build a third ring road for Benghazi, Libya's second largest city. The nine kilometres road, scheduled for completion in two years, will have a number of bridges and flyovers.

On 17th January Warsaw radio disclosed that the Polimex-Cekop concern had won a \$22 million contract that included the construction of an approach road to quarries and a cement plant at the north eastern city of Derna. Work was due to start in mid-February, and the completion date is early next year.

## Industry Secretariat to boost efficiency and skills

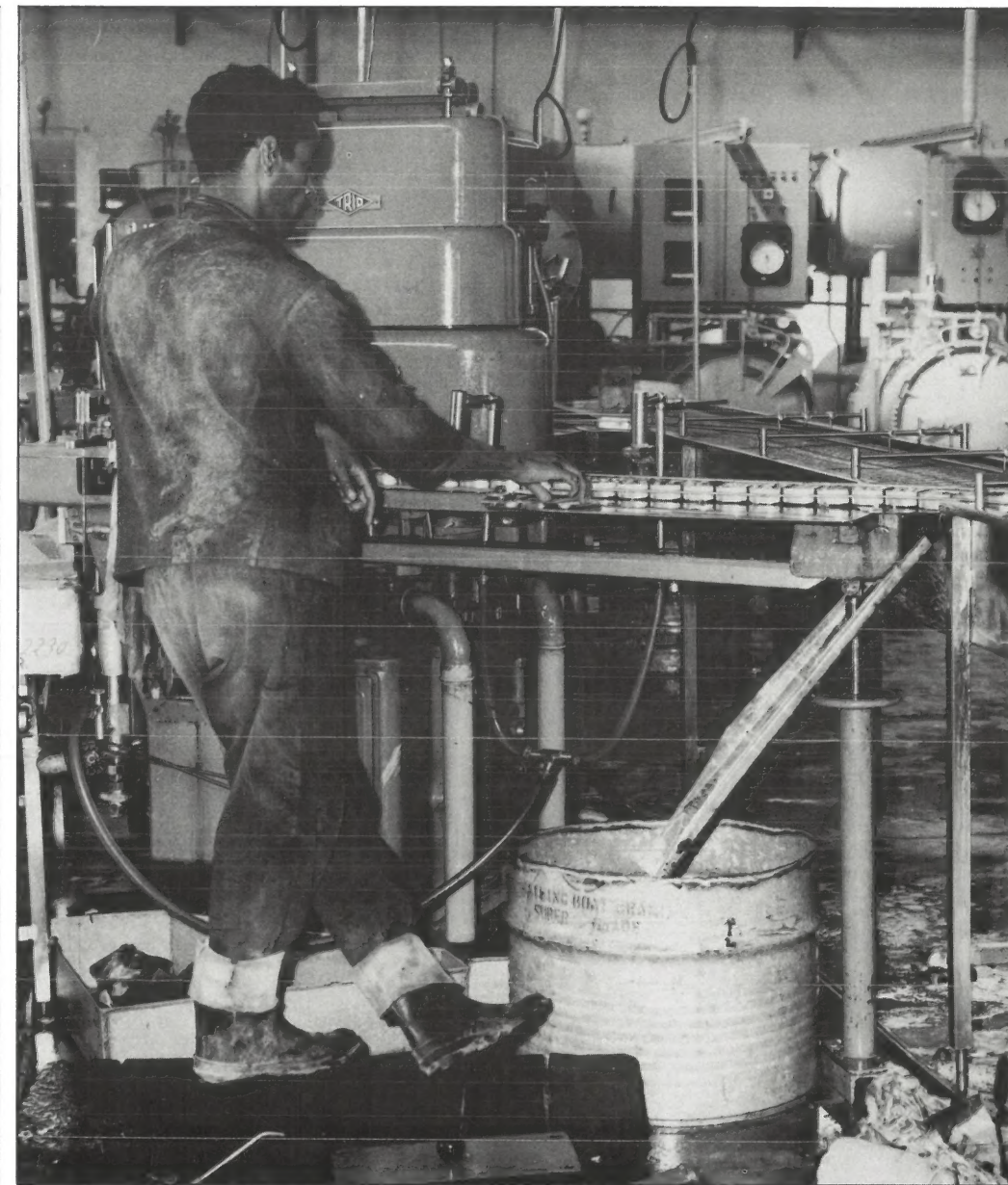
THE JAMAHIRIYA'S Heavy Industry Secretariat has appointed the Italian firm Compagnia Tecnica Internazionale Progetti (CTIP) to assist in a streamlining programme that should boost efficiency and free administrative personnel for more directly productive work, in line with calls made by the General People's Congress in relation to the Libyan economy as a whole.

Under a technical co-operation agreement signed on 18th February, Rome-based CTIP, which has more than fifty years' experience in project engineering, will help the Secretariat to standardise internal procedures and specifications, and will provide on-the-job training in project management to Libyans.

In the first stage of the programme, for completion by the middle of the year, CTIP will report on any shortcomings in the Secretariat's internal methods and organisation, and will propose solutions. Recommendations will then be implemented by a joint engineering and project management team that could eventually go on to assume overall responsibility for such major schemes as the Misrata steel works and the planned Sirte fertiliser plant.

## Book fair goes ahead

THE SECOND Tripoli International Book Fair, organised by the General Company for Publishing, Distribution and Advertising, is being held in the Libyan capital from 19-29th April. Enquiries can be made to the company on Tripoli 20235 (telex).



Canning centre: Libya is becoming increasingly self-sufficient in food products.

## Record year for light industry

THE MAIN thrust of the Libyan Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan is to diversify the economy by the expansion of the productive sectors of agriculture and industry. Industrial plans calls for an empha-

sis on heavy industries, such as the steel plant under construction at Misrata, but light industry is not neglected. The plan allocates LD 1.2 billion to light industries, of which LD 95 million will be spent this year.

The Jamahiriya news agency JANA, citing sources in the General People's Committee for Light

Industry on 7th February announced encouraging progress in the light industrial sector last year (see table), pointing to the country's growing self-sufficiency in a wide range of food and consumer products.

It is particularly welcome news in the light of February's decision by the General People's Congress to restrain consumer goods imports this year to \$5.3 billion.

### LIGHT INDUSTRY PRODUCTION 1982

**Socialist General Establishment for Food Products**  
Pickles: 12,000 tonnes  
Fruit juice: 22,000 tonnes  
Legumes: 24,000 tonnes  
Jam: 5,250 tonnes

**Socialist Marine Fisheries Company**  
Tinned tuna and sardines: 9,420 tonnes

**National Textile Products Company**  
Garments: 2 million  
Blankets: 300,000  
Canvas sheets: 4 million  
Handkerchiefs: 6 million  
Arab dresses: 750,000  
Pillow cases: 100,000  
Burnouses: 15,000  
Table cloths: 60,000

**Benghazi Textile Factory**  
School uniforms: 450,000  
Arab dresses: 750  
Socks: 4 million

**General Furniture Company**  
Chairs: 30,000  
Divans: 220,000  
Coil springs: 9 million

**The Aman Tyre and Cushion Factory**  
Cushions: 100,000

**Soap Manufacturing**  
Perfumed and liquid soap and shampoo: 7,500 tonnes  
Cleaning agents: 13 million litres



# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

The solution of the  
problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the  
Economic Problem

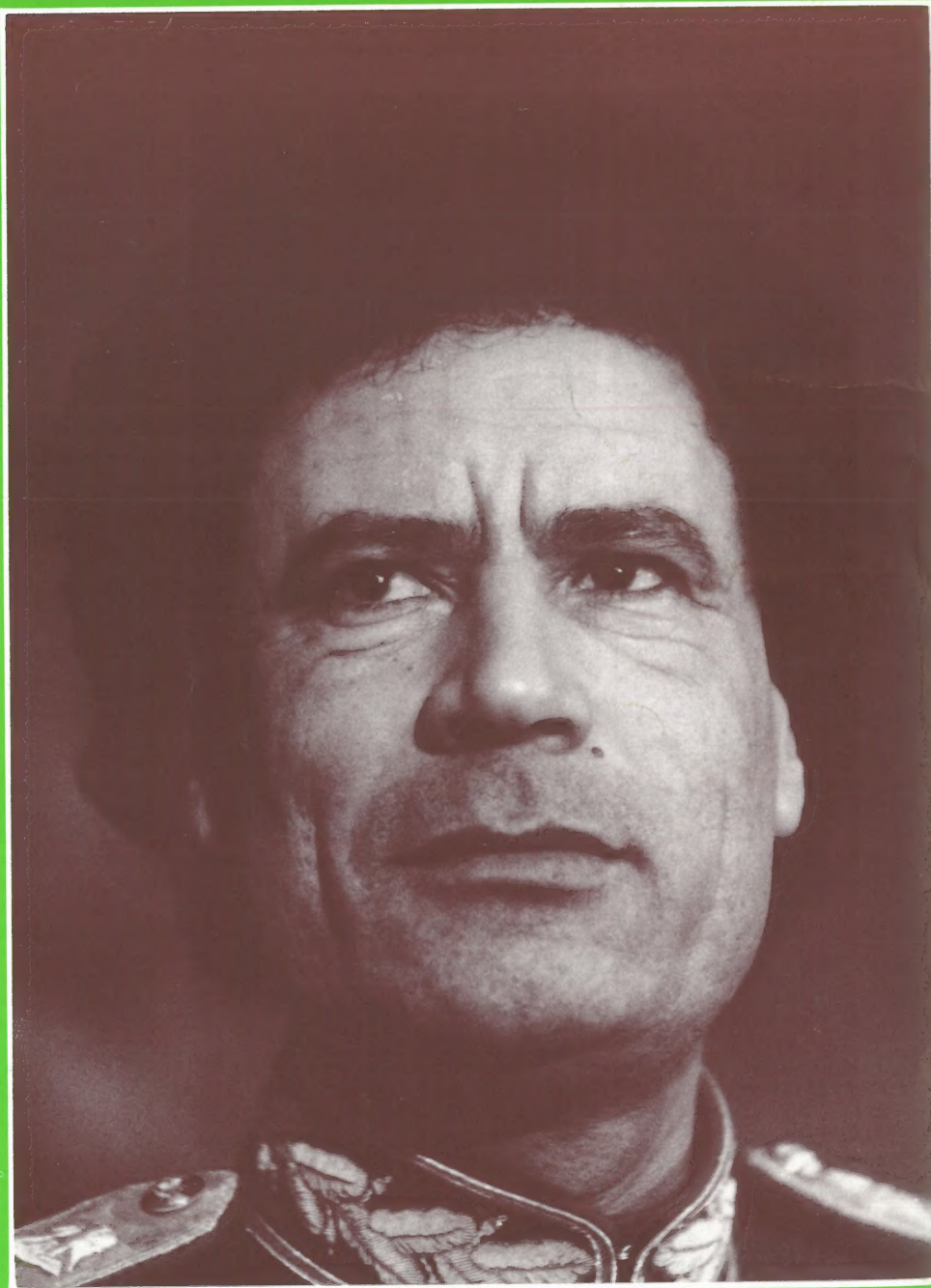
## PART 3

The Social Basis of the  
Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes  
the Libyan leader  
examines the economic,  
social and political  
problems confronting the  
world today, and presents  
a radical programme  
for their solution.

The Green Book provides  
a comprehensive  
review of the theories  
on which the Libyan

proposals put forward by  
Muammer al Qadhafi are  
not merely theories but an  
explanation and insight into  
the structure and priorities  
of modern Libya.



Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information  
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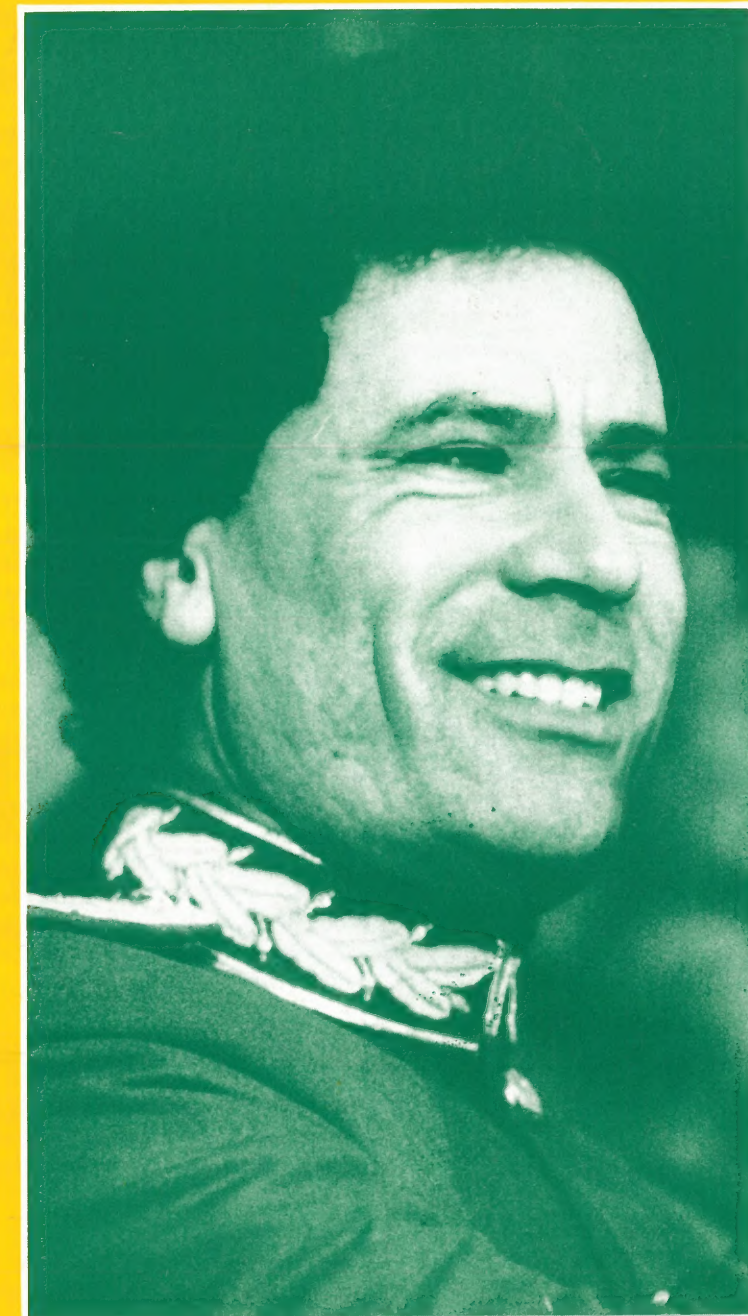
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